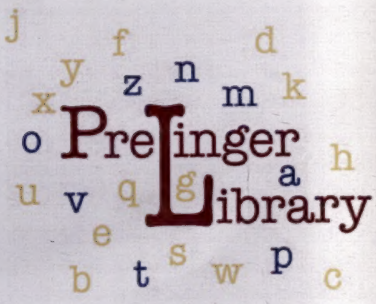
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXXII.

JANUARY, 1844.

ART. I. — *The Poets and Poetry of America; with a Historical Introduction.* By RUFUS W. GRISWOLD. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. xxvi. and 476.

THIS large and well-printed volume has been domesticated on our table for a long time, and although not publicly noticed, has not been forgotten. A review of it has held, for many months, a prominent place among our deferred projects and virtuous intentions. The book, however, has not thought proper to await our judgment before it commenced its tour of the country, but has quietly travelled through many States and four editions, and now returns our glance with all the careless impertinence inspired by success. That fickle-minded monster, called "the reading public," which sometimes buys and praises before it receives its cue from the reviewer, has taken the work under its own patronage, and spread before it the broad shield of its favor, as a protection against the critical knife. We hope, nevertheless, to be able to give it a sly thrust, here and there, in places where it is still vulnerable.

Mr. Griswold has prefixed to his book an eloquent, hopeful, and extenuating preface. This is followed by a lively and learned historical introduction, displaying much research, devoted to a consideration of the defects and meagreness of American poetry during the Colonial period. He has disturbed the dust which had mercifully gathered around antiquated doggerel and venerable bathos, with no reverential fingers;

and his good taste has not been choked or blinded by the cloud he has raised. The common fault of antiquaries, that of deeming puerility and meanness invaluable because they happen to be scarce and old, and of attempting to link some deep meaning to what is simply bombast, affectation, or nonsense, he has avoided with commendable diligence. He makes no demand on our charity, in favor of some poet-aster, for whom he may have imbibed a strange affection. He does not estimate the value of his antiquarian spoils by the labor and money expended in their acquisition. He has emerged from his resurrectionist delvings in the grave-yards of rhyme, without confounding moral distinctions, vitiating his taste, or becoming imbued with any malevolent designs against good composition or public patience.

The series of selections and biographies begins with Freneau, and ends with the Davidsons. Between these, Mr. Griswold has contrived to press into the nominal service of the Muses no less than eighty-eight persons, all of whom, it can be proved by indisputable evidence, did, at various periods, and inspired by different motives, exhibit their ideas, or their lack of ideas, in a metrical form. The editor is well aware, that a strict definition of poetry would shut out many whom he has admitted. Much of the verse in his collection is not "the creation of new beauty, the manifestation of the real by the ideal, in 'words that move in metrical array.'" It is rather commonplace, jingling its bells at certain fixed pauses in its smooth or rugged march. To versify sermons is not to create beauty; nor can good morality be taken in apology for bad poetry. A morbid and uneasy sensibility may give a certain swell and grandness to diction without the aid of imagination. A young gentleman, while groaning beneath some fancied woes, may ask for public commiseration in the husky utterance of grating rhyme, and yet display no depth and intensity of feeling. We think, therefore, that Mr. Griswold has "been too liberal of his aqueous mixture" in his selections. Some of the authors whom he has included in the list are unworthy of the honor of having their feebleness thrust into notice. From others of more pretensions he has copied too unsparingly. A few of his critical notices reflect more credit upon his benevolence than his taste. He seems to have fixed the price of admittance low, in order, as the show-bills say, that the public might be more generally ac-

commodated. King James the First debased the ancient order of knighthood, by laying his sword on the shoulder of every pander or buffoon who recommended himself by the fulness of his purse, the readiness of his jests, or the pliancy of his conscience. Editors should keep this fact in mind, and extract from it the warning and admonition it is so eminently calculated to suggest.

Although we deem Mr. Griswold deserving of a little gentle correction for his literary beneficence, we are not insensible to his merits. The work before us must have demanded the labor of years. Those portions which are intrinsically the least valuable undoubtedly cost the editor the most toil, and afforded him the least gratification. To hunt out mediocrity and feebleness, and append correct dates to their forgotten effusions, is an exercise of philanthropy which is likely to be little appreciated; and yet, in many instances, it was necessary, in order to give a fair reflection of the poetical spirit of the country and the time. In the editor's wanderings in some of the secluded lanes of letters, he has rescued from oblivion many poems of considerable value. He has been compelled to search for most of his facts in places only accessible by great exertion and perseverance. Many of the poets from whom he has made selections have never published editions of their writings, and had never before been honored with biographies. He might easily have written better poems than some which he must have expended much time and labor in obtaining. The vanities and jealousies of his band of authors he was compelled to take into consideration, and to forbear giving them unnecessary offence. Among all the fierce enmities which a person may provoke by sincerely expressing his opinions, we know of none more dangerous than that which follows from informing a rhyming scribbler, that his fame will not equal his ambition, or from omitting to notice him at all out of commiseration for his well-meaning stupidities. We think, therefore, that Mr. Griswold has succeeded as well in his book, as the nature of the case admitted; that his patient research and general correctness of taste are worthy of praise; that his difficulties and temptations would have extenuated far graver errors than he has committed; and that his volume well deserves the approbation it has received.

The labor of editing this book may be inferred from the num-

ber of writers quoted, exclusive of those who flourished and scribbled previously to the Revolution. There are eighty-eight names on the list,* all of them being introduced by biographical and critical notices. There are about sixty other writers mentioned in the Appendix, who are not equally honored, and whose names we have no room, even in a note, to mention. The editor has thus made extracts from the writings of nearly one hundred and fifty persons, very few of whom have been poets or prose-writers by profession. These selections extend over a period of sixty years, but most of them are comprehended within the last twenty.

We have not been able to find a list of English poets and dramatists, from Chaucer to Anstey, which contains more than two hundred and twenty names. This includes many whose very names are unknown to the general reader, and many who have not written so well as the worst of our own rhymers. It extends over four centuries. It contains such names as Gower, Lydgate, Edwards, Gascoigne, Greene, Watson, Lyly, Constable, (1568,) Breton, Nash, Quarles, Nabbes, Catharine Phillips, Jasper Mayne, Hooke, Cotton, (1630,) Flatman, Etherege, Shadwell, Stepney, Lillo, Savage, Watts, Welsted, Carey, Shaw, Ferguson, as well as the eminent poets of each period. Indeed, the editors of selections from the English poets, even those who commence with Chaucer and include the great bards of the present cen-

* The list is as follows: Philip Freneau, (born in 1752,) John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, Richard Alsop, St. John Honeywood, William Cliffton, Robert Treat Paine, Washington Allston, James Kirke Paulding, Levi Frisbie, John Pierpont, Andrews Norton, Richard H. Dana, Richard H. Wilde, James A. Hillhouse, Charles Sprague, Hannah F. Gould, Carlos Wilcox, Henry Ware, Jr., William C. Bryant, John Neal, Joseph Rodman Drake, Maria Brooks, James G. Percival, Fitz-Greene Halleck, John G. C. Brainard, S. G. Goodrich, Isaac Clason, Lydia H. Sigourney, George W. Doane, William B. O. Peabody, Robert C. Sands, Grenville Mellen, George Hill, James G. Brooks, Albert G. Greene, William Leggett, Edward C. Pinkney, R. W. Emerson, S. L. Fairfield, Rufus Dawes, E. D. Griffin, J. H. Bright, George D. Prentice, William Croswell, Walter Colton, Charles F. Hoffman, Mrs. Seba Smith, N. P. Willis, Edward Sanford, J. O. Rockwell, Thomas Ward, John H. Bryant, H. W. Longfellow, William G. Simms, George Lunt, Jonathan Lawrence, Elizabeth Hall, Emma C. Embury, John G. Whittier, Oliver W. Holmes, Albert Pike, Park Benjamin, Willis G. Clark, William D. Gallagher, James F. Clarke, Elizabeth F. Ellett, James Aldrich, Anna P. Dinnies, Edgar A. Poe, Isaac McLellan, Jr., Jones Very, A. B. Street, W. H. Burleigh, W. J. Pabodie, Louis L. Noble, C. P. Cranch, Henry T. Tuckerman, Epes Sargent, Lucy Hooper, Arthur C. Coxe, James R. Lowell, Amelia B. Welby, Lucretia and Margaret Davidson.

tury, have not thought proper to admit so many names as are included in Mr. Griswold's collection ; and at the same time, they have selected many pieces which would confer no additional reputation upon Bryant, Longfellow, Willis, Dana, Halleck, Sprague, Percival, or Drake ; and many also which American poets, of less pretensions, have excelled. Pinkney has written as well, to say the least, as many of the " mob of gentlemen," who were the boast of the times of Charles the First, and Charles the Second ; as well as Lovelace and Carew, and better than Waller, Sedley, Etherege, and Dorset. There are few songs, if we except those of Burns and Moore, which have more lyric flow and hearty sentiment than the best of Hoffman's. Tom Warton has not written better sonnets than some of Benjamin's. Gallagher and Street have a finer feeling for the beauties and sublimities of natural scenery, and more felicity in giving it expression, than a large number of English descriptive poets of the second class. Sargent has written of the sea with more freshness and graphic power, with more true fancy and poetic feeling, than Falconer, or many others of a higher reputation. A richness of diction, a warmth of imagination, and a tenderness of sentiment distinguish many of the occasional compositions of Tuckerman, and especially his " Spirit of Poetry," which are not often found in the poetical contributions to many of those English periodicals, in which Transatlantic verse is rarely mentioned without ridicule or affected contempt.

We have no desire to exalt American poetry above its merits. We are sensible of its deficiencies, as compared with the great creations of English genius. We know, that much, which circulates in the United States in the shape of rhyme, is nothing more than rhyme. But it appears to us quite absurd, that in a country whose literature is stained with so many metrical productions offensive to good taste and good morals, — a country which has had its Tom D'Urfeys, Aphra Behns, Shadwells, Settles, and Wolcotts, as well as its Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, and Wordsworth, — a country whose miscellaneous and magazine verse is, at the present time, inferior to our own, — there should be so much willingness to express pity or contempt for the poetry of the United States. But it is one of the amiable peculiarities of John Bull to forget all his own past or present sins, in his zeal against the peccadilloes of his neighbours.

All countries peopled by civilized men must have many minor poets, who, with a moderate share of the poetical faculty, have considerable poetical feeling. Their compositions may not deserve much eulogium ; they may merely remodel old images and repeat old forms of expression ; they may rather reproduce than create ; but their poetry often displays smooth versification, pure sentiment, and occasionally a happy thought. Almost all men "experience" poetry during some period of their lives ; and it is often the case, that, in a moment of happy inspiration, a man of very inferior abilities may write a short poem excelling some of the efforts of men of the highest genius. We might select from Mr. Griswold's collection many pieces which are better than some few poems included in editions of Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, and Scott. In the United States, there is a great number of such persons as we have indicated. The ease with which a moderate skill in versification is acquired, and the copious flood of poetic expressions which is poured into the mind of every school-boy, enable most men of taste and feeling to write what is called respectable poetry with great facility. Much rhyme is here produced by persons who have no direct connexion with literature, and who set forth no claims to be admitted into the glorious company of creative minds. If their good-natured friends would only let them alone, they would never discover that they were more gifted than their neighbours. The danger is, that they will be too much elated by flattery, and at last seriously entertain the conceit, that they are great poets, who reflect honor upon the literature of their country. As every man has some friend connected with a newspaper or magazine, this danger is not so groundless as one may at first imagine.

The fact cannot fail to strike the least observant spectator, that most of our distinguished authors are engaged in pursuits generally considered unfavorable to the efforts of genius. Sprague and Halleck obtain their livelihood by their pens, it is true ; but not in any poetical sense of the phrase. The least lucrative profession in the United States is that of authorship. Every prudent man avoids it as he does a pestilence. A writer who attempts to live on the manufactures of his imagination, is continually coquetting with starvation. He spends his days in illustrating the ingenious theories of certain physiologists, who have tried to ascertain how little food will suf-

fice for a man's stomach, and how little raiment for his back. Genius may be almost defined, as the faculty of acquiring poverty. Professional authors have ever been rudely bruised and battered by fortune. When so thin that they could not "sport a shadow i' the sun," a bailiff has generally served in its place. Garrets and cellars have been at once their homes and hiding-places. In their case, mendicity often trails mendacity along with it. Famine hollows their cheeks; disease lackeys their steps. Every proud worldling hisses out his scoff, and every ass lifts his hoof against them. They drink deep, not only of the Pierian spring, but of that fountain of self-contempt, which is "bitterer to drink than blood." They die, at last, some by their own hands, some by insanity, some of famine, some of absolute weariness, and some of "helpless, hopeless brokenness of heart," —

> "Hiding from many a careless eye
> The scornèd load of agony."

We must confess that such dark and petulant fancies as these always flit through our minds, when we hear the constantly repeated regret, that a favorite author has not made literature his profession. The reasons why he has not done so are plain. He has common, as well as uncommon, sense; he deems pain and starvation evils which should be avoided; he thinks a good home and the certainty of a dinner better than a garret and heaven-soaring imaginations. Such men as Sprague and Halleck have displayed as much wisdom in their conduct as genius in their writings. They early discovered, what a little reflection would teach anybody, that professional authorship and worldly comfort are like parallel lines, — they never meet. They certainly would not have written so well, had their muse been stimulated to exertion by hunger, or their fine faculties been let out to some "enterprising" bookseller, and forced into whatever channels of quackery and deceit the demands of "the trade" required. Professional authors are apt either to sneer at a banker or merchant who obtains applause for transient literary offerings, or to attempt to lure him by lying idealities into their own Slough of Despond. There is hardly a hack in Great Britain who has not, either in penny newspaper or sentimental magazine, directed his pop-gun of wit against Samuel Rogers, the banker and

poet. Men who get a living, or an epitaph, by the pursuits of literature, seem to think that no person has a right to be clever who is not something of a vagabond. We cannot admit that they are at all competent to decide the question, whether commerce or banking be inimical to poetry. Bank-notes, it is to be regretted, visit their pockets too rarely to make them any thing but dogmatists in deciding on their poetical or prosaic nature.

Charles Sprague, one of the best poets in Mr. Griswold's multitudinous collection, has always been engaged in pursuits connected with commerce, and his poems are therefore the rich products of his leisure. His poetical compositions are naturally divided into two classes: those written for special occasions, and in some degree manufactured to order; and those which commemorate events in his domestic life, and which accordingly have more of the heart's spontaneous music. Although those of the first class display to greater advantage his skill in versification, and the extent of his intellectual resources, they are not so instinct with the poetical spirit as his less ambitious efforts. His prologues are the best which have been written since the time of Pope. His "Shakspeare Ode" has hardly been exceeded by anything in the same manner, since Gray's "Progress of Poetry." But the true power and originality of the man are manifested in his domestic pieces. "The Brothers," "I see Thee still," and the "Family Meeting," are the finest consecrations of natural affection in our literature. The pathos of Bryant is so deeply tinged with the spirit of meditation, that it is rather the philosophy of grief than its direct expression. His regrets flow through his reason and imagination, but those of Sprague seem to gush directly from the heart. There is a purity, a sweetness, a true home-like feeling in the little domestic pieces of the latter, to which none but a fribble or a *roué* can be insensible. They can be read again and again with a delight which is ever renewed. The true soul of human affection is in them, and "waxes not old." A composition which dazzles at first sight by gaudy epithets, or brilliant turns of expression, or glittering trains of imagery, may fade gradually from the mind, and leave no enduring impression; but words which flow fresh and warm from a full heart, and which are instinct with the life and breath of human feeling, pass into household memo-

ries, and partake of the immortality of the affections from which they spring. The spiritual tone, also, of these beautiful embodiments of sensibility is exquisitely fine and touching.

The tone of a poem is, after all, its most enduring excellence. Images, metaphors, subtle and delicate phrases, may glide away from the mind, and yet the soul by which they were animated may remain. There is much confusion produced in criticism by not discriminating between the form and the essence of poetry. In "Childe Harold," there is probably displayed more of the radiant vesture of the imagination than in any poem of the present age; yet the tone of one half of that splendid apotheosis of misanthropy and egotism is unpoetical. Its effect is merely to stir and to sting. It leaves an impression in the memory which may be called almost disagreeable. We feel that the author's spiritual life was inharmonious, that the tone of his mind was not pure. On the other hand, in many of Wordsworth's early compositions, where the versification is harsh or slovenly, and the diction mean and meagre, the tone is often fine and poetical. The "white radiance" of the soul shines through the most homely verbal expression. To attempt to analyze the tone of a poem would be useless. It is an object of inward perception. It is

> "The viewless spirit of a lovely sound,
> A living voice, a breathing harmony,
> A bodiless enjoyment."

It may be compared to the murmur of a brook as heard in a dream. When good, it is the very music of a soul which contains no jarring string.

The tone of Sprague's domestic poems is, as we have already stated, very pure and harmonious. The swelling diction, the wide command of language and imagery, the artistic skill, the deliberate and elaborated frenzy of his long odes, will hardly bear comparison, in point of true poetic excellence, with his quiet pictures of fireside joys and sorrows. The latter illustrate the truth, that gentleness is power. There is more real strength in them than in all the clang and clatter which words can be easily made to produce, when employed by a cunning rhetorician. We extract the little poem of "The Brothers," in illustration of our meaning. No dominion over the mere shows of poetical expression

could enable a man, without a full heart, to write any thing equal to it.

"We are but two, — the others sleep
Through death's untroubled night:
We are but two, — oh! let us keep
The link that binds us bright.

"Heart leaps to heart, — the sacred flood
That warms us is the same;
That good old man — his honest blood
Alike we fondly claim.

"We in one mother's arms were lock'd, —
Long be her love repaid;
In the same cradle we were rock'd,
Round the same hearth we played.

"Our boyish sports were all the same,
Each little joy and woe;
Let manhood keep alive the flame
Lit up so long ago.

"We are but two, — be that the band
To hold us till we die;
Shoulder to shoulder let us stand,
Till side by side we lie."

In the lines on the death of M. S. C., there is much mournful beauty and tenderness.

"I knew that we must part, — day after day
I saw the dread destroyer win his way;
Feeble and slow thy once light footstep grew,
Thy wasting cheek put on Death's pallid hue,
Thy thin, hot hand to mine more weakly clung,
Each sweet 'Good night' fell fainter from thy tongue.

* * * * *

Then like tired breezes did'st thou sink to rest,
Nor one, one pang the awful change confess'd.
Death stole in softness o'er that lovely face,
And touched each feature with a new-born grace;
On cheek and brow unearthly beauty lay,
And told that life's poor cares had passed away!
In my last hour be Heaven so kind to me!
I ask no more but this, — to die like thee!

We cannot resist the desire to make two more extracts from this little collection of pieces.

"I see thee still!
Remembrance, faithful to her trust,
Calls thee in beauty from the dust;
Thou comest in the morning light,
Thou 'rt with me through the gloomy night;
In dreams I meet thee as of old:
Then thy soft arms my neck enfold,
And thy sweet voice is in my ear;
In every scene to memory dear
I see thee still!

* * * * *

"We 're not all here!
Some are away, — the dead ones dear,
Who throng'd with us this ancient hearth
And gave the hour to guileless mirth.
Fate, with a stern, relentless hand,
Look'd in and thinned our little band:
Some like a night-flash pass'd away,
And some sank lingering, day by day.
The quiet graveyard — some lie there,
And cruel ocean has his share.
We 're not all here!"

Mr. Griswold tells the story of a compliment paid to Sprague, which is worthy of note. A British officer discovered the poem of "Curiosity" straying about, orphan-like, in Calcutta, and in the absence of its father adopted it as his own child, and gave it the first place among the progeny of his brain. After circulating widely in the East Indies as an English production, it was reprinted in London, and received the critical honors of the British press. The poem itself is deservedly popular, and Mr. Griswold has displayed good taste in printing the whole of it among his selections. The general harmony of its numbers, its agreeable alternations of sentiment and satire, its numerous pictures of life, character, and manners, its vigorous thought and brilliant wit, and the excellent spirit which animates it throughout, are qualities which please universally. There is much honest and hearty indignation in the production, directed against the follies and crimes of society. But Sprague is hardly a satirist in any proper sense of the word. He lashes artifice and quackery with great force, it is true; but in doing it, he rather expresses the natural contempt and dislike of a clear-headed, right-hearted man for silliness and

sin, than the labored invective of a didactic denouncer of mankind, edging rebuke with a venomous sneer, and more solicitous of antithesis than truth. He never dips his pen in scorn's "fiery poison." The spirit of beauty and genial humor seems to accompany and direct the sarcasm, whenever it is launched at the lighter branches of the fooleries and errors of the day, and it rarely becomes deep and uncompromising, except when it is shot at brazen infamy or brainless pretension. No one can read "Curiosity" without perceiving that its author has a most exact sense of moral distinctions, as well as a fine perception of the ridiculous. The moral character unconsciously impressed on the poem would do honor to Channing.

Reference has already been made to Sprague's odes as productions displaying much forcible thought, metrical skill, and splendor of expression. But they have a mightier effect upon the ear than the heart. The life of the man does not circle through them with such intensity as in his less ornate and less mechanical poems. At times there is manifested, in the choice of the language and the movement of the verse, a disposition on the part of the author to lash his muse into exertion. Here and there, a tasteless or turgid epithet indicates, that not always was he successful in "wreaking" his thoughts upon expression. No criticism, however, could justly represent them as any other than remarkable productions. A short extract from "The Centennial Ode" will serve as a specimen of his power in condensing thought and emotion into the smallest possible compass, without allowing them to run into obscurity.

"We call them savage, — oh! be just!
Their outraged feelings scan:
A voice comes forth, 't is from the dust, —
The savage was a man!

"Think ye he loved not? Who stood by,
And in his toils took part?
Woman was there to bless his eye!
The savage had a heart!
Think ye he prayed not? When on high
He heard the thunders roll,
What bade him look beyond the sky?
The savage had a soul!

"I venerate the Pilgrim's cause,
Yet for the red man dare to plead,
We bow to Heaven's recorded laws,
He turned to Nature for a creed;
Beneath the pillared dome
We seek our God in prayer;
Through boundless woods he loved to roam,
And the Great Spirit worshipped there."

From the writings of Richard Henry Dana, Mr. Griswold has made copious extracts. Mr. Dana is, perhaps, our most original poet. No American productions, with which we are acquainted, are characterized by such intense subjectiveness, or bear so deep an impress of individuality, as those of the author of "The Buccaneer." We feel, in reading them, that the inward life of the man has found utterance in the rugged music of the poet. He seems never to have written from hearsay, or taken any of his opinions at second-hand. Perhaps this is to be attributed, in a great degree, to his habits of retirement. In this bustling and utilitarian age, when even poets become involved in politics and commercial speculations, and literally make a noise in the world, we do not often hear of a writer who keeps the even tenor of his way amid the surrounding fret and tumult, undisturbed by the petty vanities and humble aims of active existence. Very few now follow the example of Isaac of old, and go out into the fields to meditate. The old law of composition is reversed. Men do not appear to write because they cannot help it, but to lash and goad their unwilling minds into expression by extraneous means. The morals and aspirations of Grub Street have worked their way into Paternoster Row. A low standard of excellence is established. Immortality is confidently predicted of very humble labors. Choice bits and morsels of thought and imagery, floating on the smooth stream of octosyllabic or seven-syllabled verse, are considered infallible signs of creative genius. Many "immortal" reputations die every year. A spirit of dapper intellectual dandyism, of which elegant verbiage and a dainty and debilitating spiritualism are the outward shows and covering, infects too much of the popular verse. Vanity and avarice are the moving principles of much which should spring directly from sentiment or imagination. Authors of the second rank may now be divided into two distinct classes. The one strives to win the ear of the polite and refined at any sacrifice of heartiness and

truth, and is prodigal of elegant imbecilities and insipid refinements ; whilst the other pampers the taste of the vulgar with recitals of misery and crime, exhibits all the forms of melodramatic agony, and fills the page with the records of the hospital and the jail. Both classes are equally distant from nature and truth. No author ever acquired durable fame by his loyalty to merely conventional decencies and refinements, or by outrages upon taste and morals. Milton said, that no man could write epics who did not live epics. Since his time, Glover and Cottle have illustrated his remark in "Leonidas" and "Alfred." But this principle does not hold good in regard to the other forms of poetry ; for men contrive to write lyrics, while they live economics.

Mr. Dana belongs to a very different class of authors from those whom we have just described. "Neediness, greediness, and vain-glory" have never been the sources of his inspiration. He has engaged in none of those enterprises, which give a day's fame to ambitious mediocrity and aspiring weakness. His reputation among men of taste is the result of no puffing, and is not confined to sects or *cliques*. The excellence of his writings is the measure of their fame. The shams and mockeries of eulogistic criticism have not placed his reputation on the ricketty basis of notoriety. It may be doubted, if any American poet has led a more ideal existence, or succeeded better in making his life a poem. His compositions are thoughtful, vigorous, fresh, and original. They are held in just estimation by his countrymen, although not of that kind which attracts a large audience, and is likely to be immediately appreciated. Mr. Dana's reputation has been of slow growth, but it has constantly increased with age. In making his poems of durable value, he neglected the usual tricks of expression, by which transient popularity is often won.

The mental powers displayed in his writings are of a high order. He possesses all the qualities which distinguish the poet, — acute observation of nature, a deep feeling of beauty, a suggestive and shaping imagination, a strong and keen, though not dominant, sensibility, and a perfect command of expression. In description, he excels, perhaps, all his American contemporaries. Many of his stanzas are pictures, painted with few words. He is successful, also, in mingling thought and sentiment with description, and in evolving the spiritual meaning which underlies natural objects, with-

out misrepresenting nature. He gives the sensible image with so much clearness and compression, that it becomes immediately apparent to the eye ; and the language in which he pictures it forth is instinct with imagination, even when he superadds no direct sentiment or analogy. The fault in much fine descriptive poetry is in the accommodation of the appearance, which an object presents to the eye, to the ideas which it suggests to the mind. The fancy seizes upon the material form and moulds it into new shapes, until the original and distinctive features are lost. There are some poets, who, although their perceptive faculties are not deficient in acuteness, are unable to see things as they really exist. Every object that passes into their consciousness from without undergoes a change. The powers of vision are unable to hold the sensible image in its exact shape and hue, and it is soon delivered over to passion, wit, or fancy, often to be moulded into grotesque and whimsical forms. The immaterialists and pantheists of poetry, looking at nature only for analogies, and denying her absolute existence, are apt to be too free with her forms and colors. But Dana, though intensely subjective and individual in the character of his genius, and strongly influenced by his mental habits and peculiarities in his appreciation of natural scenery, rarely fails to convey correct representations of outward realities, even when he links a sentiment to them which minds differently constituted would deem unnatural. In him we never find "subjectivity leading objectivity in chains," as Hallam quaintly says of Malebranche. A few stanzas, taken at random from "The Buccaneer," will prove that exact description and high imagination are capable of being united.

"But when the light winds lie at rest,
And on the glassy, heaving sea,
The black duck, with her glossy breast,
Sits swinging silently,
How beautiful! no ripples break the reach,
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach."

* * * * *

"'T is fearful, on the broad-backed waves,
To feel them shake and hear them roar ;
Beneath, unsounded, dreadful caves ;
Around, no cheerful shore.
Yet mid this solemn world what deeds are done!
The curse goes up, the deadly sea-fight 's won."

* * * * *

"The ship works hard; the sea runs high;
Their white tops, flashing through the night,
Give to the eager straining eye
A wild and shifting light."

* * * * *

"On pale, dead men, on burning cheek,
On quick, fierce eyes, brows hot and damp,
On hands that with the warm blood reek,
Shines the dim cabin lamp."

* * * * *

"A low, sweet voice, in starry nights,
Chants to his ear a plaining song;
Its tones come *winding up the heights*,
Telling of woe and wrong."

* * * * *

"As swung the sea with heavy beat,
Below, and hear it break
With savage roar, then *pause and gather strength*,
And then, come tumbling in its swollen length."

Indeed, Dana's descriptions of nature are so graphic, that the objects are perceived as if by the bodily eye. In the delineation of character, also, he is often very successful. Mat Lee, the Buccaneer, is powerfully drawn. He is one of those ideal beings, who become existences as real to the mind, as any friend or enemy of whom we have had long experience. A few lines give him a place in the soul for ever.

"Twelve years are gone since Matthew Lee
Held in this isle unquestioned sway;
A dark, low, brawny man was he;
His law, — 'It is my way.'
Beneath his thick-set brows a sharp light broke
From small gray eyes; his laugh a triumph spoke.

"Cruel of heart and strong of arm,
Loud in his sport and keen for spoil,
He little recked of good or harm,
Fierce both in mirth and toil;
Yet like a dog could fawn, if need there were;
Speak mildly when he would, or look in fear.

"Amid the uproar of the storm,
And by the lightning's sharp red glare,
Were seen Lee's face and sturdy form;
His axe glanced quick in air."

Dana's imagination is, perhaps, his greatest power. In the extracts we have made from "The Buccaneer," in illustration of other qualities, this faculty is prominent. Whether exercised in bodying forth abstract ideas, or in creating character, or in vivifying description, or in suggesting analogies, or in assisting to give that inexpressible tone to his compositions which analysis toils after in vain, — it seems equally predominant. In the selection of his language, likewise, no one can fail to discern the influence of this faculty. His words are always embodied ideas. He often makes a single epithet perform the office of a stanza. It would be impossiple to compress his style, for the short, sharp sentences are the perfection of brevity.

It would seem from his published works, that there is a dark vein of despondency in his nature, and it sometimes breaks out in morbid manifestations, in spite of the vigor of his intellect and the fineness of his affections. His compositions have more "hearse-like airs than carols." Keenly sensible to moral distinctions, he feels intensely the sin and wretchedness of the world, and throws too sombre a coloring over his reflections upon humanity. He gazes into the awful gulfs of iniquity, which make a hell of many perverted bosoms, with the eye of conscience and religion; and is apt to transfer to the race some of the associations which such a contemplation suggests. A tinge of melancholy, mild, delicious, and dream-like, as in the "Little Beach Bird," is sometimes thrown over his verse, and adds to its mystical charm; but when this deepens into gloom, we feel that it results from the inharmonious action of his mind. Even in the latter case, however, bursts of sunshine from his imagination will occasionally "streak the darkness radiantly." A poet whose sensibility to grandeur and sublimity is deep, and whose mind has a feeling for the vague and the supernatural, is ever liable to be oppressed by dark moods, unless he has a sharp perception of wit and humor to modify the sombre tendencies of his disposition. In Dana, this melancholy never degenerates into misanthropy, and is never employed to pamper a sublimed egotism, as in Byron. It is deeper, however, and more intense, than the mournfulness we occasionally find in Wordsworth, Bryant, and other meditative poets. It seems to have its "bed and procreant cradle" in habits of solitary thought and intense

brooding over his own consciousness. It pervades his writings like an invisible spirit.

Mr. Griswold says finely of Bryant, that "he is the translator of the silent language of nature to the world." The serene beauty and thoughtful tenderness, which characterize his descriptions or rather interpretations of outward objects, are paralleled only in Wordsworth. His poems are almost perfect of their kind. The fruits of meditation, rather than of passion or imagination, and rarely startling with an unexpected image or sudden outbreak of feeling, they are admirable specimens of what may be called the philosophy of the soul. They address the finer instincts of our nature with a voice so winning and gentle, — they search out with such subtle power all in the heart which is true and good, — that their influence, though quiet, is resistless. They have consecrated to many minds things which before it was painful to contemplate. Who can say, that his feelings and fears respecting death have not received an insensible change, since reading the "Thanatopsis"? Indeed, we think that Bryant's poems are valuable not only for their intrinsic excellence, but for the vast influence their wide circulation is calculated to exercise on national feelings and manners. It is impossible to read them without being morally benefited. They purify as well as please. They develope or encourage all the elevated and thoughtful tendencies of the mind. In the jar and bustle of our American life, more favorable to quickness and acuteness of mind than to meditation, it is well that we have a poet who can bring the hues and odors of nature into the crowded mart, and, by ennobling thoughts of man and his destiny, induce the most worldly to give their eyes an occasional glance upward, and the most selfish to feel that the love of God and man is better than the love of Mammon. Metrical moralizing is generally offensive, from its triteness and pretension; but that of Bryant is so fresh and natural, mingles so unconsciously with his musings and imaginations, and bears so marked a character of truth and feeling, that even the most commonplace axiom receives a new importance when touched by the outpourings of his heart, and colored by his imagination. To make extracts from Bryant, in illustration of the qualities of his mind, would be almost an impertinence. His writings are too well known to need quotation of particular beauties.

Mr. Griswold remarks of Percival, that "he has all the natural qualities of a great poet, but lacks the artistical skill, or declines the labor, without which few authors gain immortality. He has a brilliant imagination, remarkable command of language, and an exhaustless fountain of ideas. He writes with a facility but rarely equalled, and, when his thoughts are once committed to the page, he shrinks from the labor of revising, correcting, and condensing. He remarks, in one of his prefaces, that his verse is 'very far from bearing the marks of the file and the burnisher,' and that he likes to see 'poetry in the full ebullition of feeling and fancy, foaming up with the spirit of life, and glowing with the rainbows of a glad inspiration.'" To this *critique* it is necessary to add but little. The glow and sparkle of Percival's verse are often in the highest degree inspiring. The swell and sweep in his diction correspond with the turbulence and joy of soul from which much of his poetry seems to gush. The mind of the reader is hurried along the stream of his verse, and readily adopts his changing moods. "The Prevalence of Poetry," "Consumption," "Clouds," "Morning among the Hills," "Genius Slumbering," "Genius Waking," "The Sun," and "New England," are all excellent, and evince his artistical ability, and the range of his genius. We say artistical *ability*, because most of Percival's poems indicate greater capacity in the writer than is directly expressed. "New England" is a lyric known to every school-boy; and its warm patriotism and kindling energy have disturbed the mind of many a youth, while attempting to pierce into the heart of some tough problem in Euclid. "May" is a little poem of exceeding beauty and sweetness, reflecting the very season it describes.

"I feel a newer life in every gale,—
The winds that fan the flowers,
And with their welcome breathings fill the sail,
Tell of serener hours,—
Of hours that glide unfelt away
Beneath the sky of May.

"The spirit of the gentle south-wind calls
From his blue throne of air,
And, when his whispering voice in music falls,
Beauty is budding there;

The bright ones of the valley break
Their slumbers, and awake.

"The waving verdure rolls along the plain,
And the wide forest weaves,
To welcome back its playful mates again,
A canopy of leaves.
And from the darkening shadow floats
A gush of trembling notes.

"Fairer and brighter spreads the reign of May;
The tresses of the woods
With the light dallying of the west-wind play;
And the full brimming floods,
As gladly to the goal they run,
Hail the returning sun."

In the "Prevalence of Poetry," we perceive the exuberance of Percival's mind displayed with fine effect. The fancy and sentiment of the piece seem to flow directly from the true inward sources of the ideal.

"The world is full of poetry — the air
Is living with its spirit; and the waves
Dance to the music of its melodies,
And sparkle in its brightness. Earth is veil'd
And mantled with its beauty; and the walls
That close the universe with crystal in
Are eloquent with voices, that proclaim
The unseen glories of immensity
In harmonies too perfect and too high
For aught but beings of celestial mould,
And speak to man, in one eternal hymn,
Unfading beauty and unyielding power."

He evinces a thorough knowledge of what poetry is *not*, while he pours out his heart in praise of what poetry *is*.

"'T is not the chime and flow of words, that move
In measured file and metrical array;
'T is not the union of returning sounds,
Nor all the pleasing artifice of rhyme,
And quantity, and accent, that can give
This all-pervading spirit to the ear,
Or blend it with the movings of the soul.
'T is a mysterious feeling, which combines
Man with the world around him, in a chain
Woven of flowers, and dipp'd in sweetness, till

He tastes the high communion of his thoughts
With all existences, in earth and heaven,
That meet him in the charm of grace and power.
'T is not the noisy babbler, who displays,
In studied phrase, and noisy epithet,
And rounded period, poor and vapid thoughts,
Which peep from out the cumbrous ornaments
That overload their littleness. Its words
Are few, but deep and solemn."

Percival has less subjectivity, less of the brooding, philosophizing spirit, than any of his eminent contemporaries. His imagination, considered as a shaping faculty, is not so great as Dana's, Longfellow's, and perhaps Bryant's ; but in fancy he excels them all. Indeed, the quickness with which the latter quality works, and the disposition of Percival to hurried composition, have not been favorable to the culture of high imaginative power. When the mind is really disturbed by the "fine frenzy," the imagination has no lack of activity in its motions ; but when the poet, instead of being frenzied, is only a little "light-headed," it disdains to give its aid. In Percival, the feeling is often high and the verse winged, when the imagery is only common. His poems do not always seem adequately to convey the whole power of the mind from which they proceed.

Few poets in Mr. Griswold's motley collection excel Fitz-Greene Halleck in popularity. His metrical compositions, though not deficient in high qualities, do not require a very subtle taste in the reader in order to be appreciated. The frequent blending of serious thought and emotion with playful and careless fancies enables him to pass at once for a man of sentiment and a man of the world. He has more of the faculty than the feeling of the poet. He reposes little faith in his own creations. He is hardly willing to plant himself with undoubting confidence upon the eternal principles of the soul, on which the poetical is based, and avoid or repel the fleeting feelings and opinions which sometimes threaten and cloud their dominion. By the impertinence of his wit, he almost gives the impression that poetry is a mere juggle, and that he cares not to keep the secret. At times, he places the ideal and the actual face to face, and remains himself an indifferent spectator of the result. At others, he will evoke spirits from the vasty deep of imagina-

tion, only to point and fleer at them, when they have obeyed his call. He has few serious thoughts that are not more or less associated with ludicrous ideas. A little laughing imp seems to sit opposite the fountains of his heart, and dispel with the merry flash of his eye every shade and thin essence which rise in misty beauty from their surface. In perusing some of his poems, we are tempted to call him a man of pure sentiment and fine imagination ruined by reading "Don Juan." There are poetical powers displayed in "Marco Bozzaris," "Burns," "Woman," and others of his serious poems, which we dislike to see played with and perverted. To produce a shock of surprise by the sudden intrusion of an incongruous idea into a mournful or sentimental flow of feeling, is but little above the claptrap of the stage. We are aware, that, in Halleck's case, this is done in an inimitable manner, and that the effect on one's risible faculties is irresistible; but still there are few who desire to be choked with a laugh, at the very moment when the tears are starting from their eyes. It introduces a species of skepticism, which is destructive to the enjoyment of poetry. The loftiness, purity, and tenderness of feeling, which Halleck can so well express, when he pleases, and the delicate and graceful fancies with which he can festoon thought and emotion, should never be associated with what is mean or ridiculous, even to gratify wit or whim. There is a kind of merry malevolence in the abasement of ennobling feelings and beautiful images, which is less pardonable than open scoffing, because more injurious.

It is quite common for the critics of Longfellow's poetry to escape the trouble of analysis, by offering some smooth eulogium on his taste, and some "lip-homage" to his artistical ability. Mr. Griswold satisfies his conscience by saying, that "Longfellow's works are eminently picturesque, and are distinguished for nicety of epithet and elaborate, scholarly finish. He has feeling, a rich imagination, and a cultivated taste." It seems to us, that these terms are as applicable to other American poets as to Longfellow. They do not indicate the characteristics of his genius, or give a glimpse of the spirit by which it is pervaded. A person, in reading the "Psalm of Life," does not say that this poem is "distinguished for nicety of epithet and elaborate, scholarly finish"; but rather, that this poem touches the heroic string

of my nature, — breathes energy into my heart, — sustains my lagging purposes, — and fixes my thoughts on what is stable and eternal. Without questioning the artistical excellence of this poet, we still think that it is thrust forward too prominently in all notices of his writings. That which lies behind his style and mere mechanical skill should be first considered. The thought is of more importance than the manner of saying it. If the former be worthless, then the latter is not worth consideration. A poet who expresses nothing, with great "nicety of epithet," or with "elaborate, scholarly finish," is still only good for nothing. The questions which are of real moment relate to qualities which lie deeper than rhetoric.

The great characteristic of Longfellow, that of addressing the moral nature through the imagination, of linking moral truth to intellectual beauty, is a far greater excellence. His artistical ability is admirable, because it is not seen. It is rather mental than mechanical. In truth, it may be doubted if he is more distinguished as an artist than Dana or Bryant. If by saying that a poem is artistical, we mean that its form corresponds with its spirit, that it is fashioned into the likeness of the thought or emotion it is intended to convey, then "The Buccaneer" and "Thanatopsis" are as artistical as any of the "Voices of the Night." If mere skill in the use of multitudinous metres be meant, then Percival is more artistical than either. If mechanical ingenuity in forcing sentiment into forms to which it has no affinity be the meaning, then to be artistical is a fault or an affectation. The best artist is he who accommodates his diction to his subject. In this sense, Longfellow is an artist. By learning "to labor and to wait," by steadily brooding over the chaos in which thought and emotion first appear to the mind, and giving shape and life to both, before uttering them in words, he has obtained a singular mastery over expression. By this we do not mean, that he has a large command of language. No fallacy is greater than that which confounds fluency with expression. Washerwomen, and boys at debating clubs, often display more fluency than Webster; but his words are to theirs, as the roll of thunder to the patter of rain. Language often receives its significance and power from the person who uses it. Unless permeated by the higher faculties of the mind, unless it be, not the clothing, but the "incarnation of thought," it is

quite an humble power. There are some writers who repose undoubting confidence in words. If their minds be filled with the epithets of poetry, they fondly deem that they have clutched its essence. In a piece of inferior verse, we often observe a great array of expressions which have been employed with great effect by genius, but which seem to burn the fingers and disconcert the equanimity of the aspiring word-catcher who presses them into his service. Felicity, not fluency, of language is a merit. There is such a thing, likewise, as making a style the expression of the nature of the writer who uses it. The rhetorical arrangement of Johnson is often pedantic, but it does not appear so bad in his writings as in the monstrous masses of verbiage beneath which the thin frames of his imitators are crushed. The style of Carlyle is faulty, when judged by the general rules of taste ; but we should not desire that the rough gallop of his sentences should be changed for the graceful ambling of Addison's, without a corresponding change in his psychological condition.

Longfellow has a perfect command of that expression which results from restraining rather than cultivating fluency ; and his manner is adapted to his theme. He rarely, if ever, mistakes " emotions for conceptions." His words are often pictures of his thought. He selects with great delicacy and precision the exact phrase which best expresses or suggests his idea. He colors his style with the skill of a painter. The warm flush and bright tints, as well as the most evanescent hues, of language, he uses with admirable discretion. In that higher department of his art, that of so combining his words and images that they make music to the soul as well as to the ear, and convey not only his feelings and thoughts, but also the very tone and condition of the soul in which they have being, he likewise excels. In " Maidenhood " and " Endymion," this power is admirably displayed. In what Mr. Griswold very truly calls one of his best poems, " The Skeleton in Armour," he manages a difficult verse with great skill. There is much of the old Norse energy in this composition, — that rough, ravenous battle-spirit, which, for a time, makes the reader's blood rush and tingle in warlike sympathy. But the manner in which the passions of the savage are modified by the sentiment of the lover, and the stout, death-defying heart of the warrior yields to that

gentle but irresistible power which conquers without arms and enslaves without fetters, constitutes the great charm of the poem.

> "Once, as I told in glee
> Tales of the stormy sea,
> Soft eyes looked love on me,
> Burning, yet tender;
> And, as the white stars shine
> On the dark Norway pine,
> On that dark heart of mine
> Fell their soft splendor."

It would be easy to say much of Longfellow's singular felicity in addressing the moral nature of man. It has been said of him, sometimes in derision, that all his poems have a moral. There is, doubtless, a tendency in his mind to evolve some useful meaning from his finest imaginations, and to preach when he should only sing; but we still think that the moral of his compositions is rarely thrust intrudingly forward, but rather flows naturally from the subject. There is nothing of the spirit of Joseph Surface in his genius; he does not pride himself on being a man of "noble sentiments." The morality of the "Psalm of Life" is commonplace. If versified by a poetaster, it would inspire no deep feeling, and strengthen no high purposes. But the worn axioms of didactic verse have the breath of a new life breathed into them, when they are touched by genius. A power is added to them, of which before we had little conception. They are rendered instinct with imagination. We are made to love and to follow what before we merely assented to with a lazy acquiescence.

> "Lives of great men all remind us,
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us
> *Footprints on the sands of time.*
>
> "Footprints that perhaps another,
> Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
> A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
> Seeing, shall take heart again."

This is very different from saying, that, if we follow the example of the great and good, we shall live a noble life, and

that the records of our deeds and struggles will strengthen the breasts of those who come after us to do and to suffer.

Longfellow's verse occupies a position half way between the poetry of actual life and the poetry of transcendentalism. Like all neutrals, he is liable to attack from the zealots of both parties ; but it seems to us, that he has hit the exact point, beyond which no poet can at present go, without being neglected or ridiculed. He idealizes real life ; he elicits new meaning from many of its rough shows ; he clothes subtle and delicate thoughts in familiar imagery ; he embodies high moral sentiment in beautiful and ennobling forms ; he inweaves the golden threads of spiritual being into the texture of common existence ; he discerns and addresses some of the finest sympathies of the heart ; but he rarely soars into those regions of abstract imagination, where the bodily eye cannot follow, but where that of the seer is gifted with a "pervading vision." Though he fixes a keen glance on those filmy and fleeting shades of thought and feeling which common minds overlook or are incompetent to grasp, he has his eye open a little wider, perhaps, when its gaze is directed to the outward world, than when it is turned within. His imagination, in the sphere of its activity, is almost perfect in its power to shape in visible forms, or to suggest, by cunning verbal combinations, the feeling or thought he desires to express ; but it lacks the strength and daring, and the wide sweep, which characterize the imagination of such poets as Shelley. He has little of the unrest and frenzy of the bard. We know, in reading him, that he will never miss his mark ; that he will risk nothing ; that he will aim to do only that which he feels he can do well. An air of repose, of quiet power, is around his compositions. He rarely loses sight of common interests and sympathies. He displays none of the stinging earnestness, the vehement sensibility, the gusts of passion, which characterize poets of the impulsive class. His spiritualism is not seen in wild struggles after an ineffable Something, for which earth can afford but imperfect symbols, and of which even abstract words can suggest little knowledge. He appears perfectly satisfied with his work. Like his own "Village Blacksmith," he retires every night with the feeling, that something has been attempted, and something *done*.

The intellectual tendencies of Longfellow, judging from

the mystical charm which many of his poems possess, seem to be purely spiritual. But his keen sense of what is physically pleasurable keeps them in check, and gives a more sensuous property to his imagination than what simply inheres in it. Were it not that young misses have made the phrase of equivocal meaning, we would call him "a beautiful poet." He has a feeling exquisitely fine for what is generally understood by the term *beauty*, — that is, for actual, earthly beauty, idealized and refined by the imagination, embodied in graceful shapes, or beheld in that soft, dreamy light of fancy, which makes it more witching to the senses than if seen in bolder outlines. There is a slight dash of epicureanism in his conception of the quality, when his sentiment and sensations are commingled by his imagination. A sense of luxury steals over the heart, in reading many of his apparently most spiritualized descriptions.

His sense of beauty, though uncommonly vivid, is not the highest of which the mind is capable. He has little perception of its mysterious spirit ; of that beauty, of which all physical loveliness is but the shadow, which awes and thrills the soul into which it enters, and lifts the imagination into regions "to which the heaven of heavens is but a veil." His mind never appears oppressed, nor his sight dimmed, by its exceeding glory. He feels, and loves, and creates what is beautiful ; but he hymns no reverence, he pays no adoration, to the Spirit of Beauty. He would never exclaim with Shelley, "O awful Loveliness !"

We say this rather to make a distinction than to note a fault ; to show how far the spiritual element in Longfellow's poetry is modified by the sensuous properties of his genius, than to blame him for the combination. Indeed, by a majority of critics and readers, this combination is deemed a high merit. If they found any fault with Longfellow, it would be, that he is too transcendental. It is the cant nowadays, that poetry is soaring beyond the ken of us "poor humans." A poet, who occasionally dwells in abstract imaginations, is pelted with pet epithets, and accused of lacking human sympathy. This arises, we think, from a too narrow definition of the term. It is true, that men have a quicker sense of their relations to external nature and to each other, than to God ; to shows rather than to substances ; and their hearts are more readily kindled by what is ad-

dressed to their blood and physical temperament, than by that which speaks to their spiritual nature. Still, he must be a daring and somewhat impudent person, who decides upon the whole reach of human sympathies by the range of his own, and calls that meaningless and unprofitable, which his own heart echoes feebly or not at all. Lust, falsehood, and intemperance have been so often idealized by bards, and have found so ready a response from "human sympathies," that in some minds they have become significant of the whole meaning of the phrase. If the term, human weakness, or criminality, were substituted for it in many cases, there would be a gain to the science of strict definition. Every man has a theory of human sympathies to fit his own tastes ; and his system is often so sharp a satire on his moral perceptions, that he would manifest much more prudence in its concealment, than in shouting it forth in the markets and public places of criticism.

The sympathies which Longfellow addresses are fine and poetical, but not the most subtle of which the soul is capable. The kindly affections, the moral sentiments, the joys, sorrows, regrets, aspirations, loves, and wishes of the heart, he has consecrated by new ideal forms and ascriptions. He inculcates with much force that poetic stoicism which teaches us to recken earthly evils at their true worth, and endure with patience what results inevitably from our condition, — as in the "Psalm of Life," "Excelsior," "The Light of Stars," and in passages of other poems. "The Village Blacksmith" and "God's Acre" have a rough grandeur, and "Maidenhood" and "Endymion" a soft, sweet, mystical charm, which advantageously display the range of his powers. Perhaps "Maidenhood" is the most finely poetical of all his poems. Nothing of its kind can be more exquisitely beautiful than this delicate creation. It appears like the utterance of a dream. In "The Spanish Student," the affluence of his imagination in images of grace, grandeur, and beauty, is most strikingly manifested. He scatters his wealth, in this production, with a careless munificence calculated to astonish the "barren rascals" of rhyme. The objection to it, as a play, is its lack of skill or power in the dramatic exhibition of character. But read merely as a poem cast in the form of dialogue, it is one of the most beautiful in American literature. None of his other pieces so well

illustrates all his poetical qualities,—his imagination, his fancy, his sentiment, and his manner. It seems to comprehend the whole extent of his genius.

To write good comic verse is a different thing from writing good comic poetry. A jest or a sharp saying may be easily made to rhyme; but to blend ludicrous ideas with fancy and imagination, and display in their conception and expression the same poetic qualities usually exercised in serious composition, is a rare distinction. Among American poets, we know of none who excels Holmes in this difficult branch of the art. Many of his pleasant lyrics seem not so much the offspring of wit, as of fancy and sentiment turned in a humorous direction. His manner of satirizing the foibles, follies, vanities, and affectations of conventional life is altogether peculiar and original. He looks at folly and pretension from the highest pinnacle of scorn. They never provoke his indignation, for to him they are too mean to justify anger, and hardly worthy of petulance. His light, glancing irony and fleering sarcasm are the more effective, from the impertinence of his benevolent sympathies. He wonders, hopes, wishes, titters, and cries with his victims. He practises on them the legerdemain of contempt. He kills with a sly stab, and proceeds on his way as if "nothing in particular" had happened. He picks his teeth with cool unconcern, while looking down on the captives of his wit, as if their destruction conferred no honor upon himself, and was unimportant to the rest of mankind. He makes them ridicule themselves, by giving a voice to their motions and manners. He translates the conceited smirk of the coxcomb into felicitous words. The vacant look and trite talk of the bore he links with subtle analogies. He justifies the egotist unto himself by a series of mocking sophisms. He expresses the voiceless folly and affectation of the ignorant and brainless by cunningly contrived phrases and apt imagery. He idealizes nonsense, pertness, and aspiring dulness. The movement of his wit is so swift, that its presence is known only when it strikes. He will sometimes, as it were, blind the eyes of his victims with diamond dust, and then pelt them pitilessly with scoffing compliments. He passes from the sharp, stinging gibe to the most grotesque exaggerations of drollery, with a bewildering rapidity.

Holmes is also a poet of sentiment and passion. "Old

Ironsides," "The Steamboat," "Qui Vive," and numerous passages of "Poetry," display a lyrical fire and inspiration which should not be allowed to decay for want of care and fuel. In those poems of fancy and sentiment, where the exceeding richness and softness of his diction seem trembling on the verge of meretricious ornament, he is preserved from slipping into Della Cruscanism by the manly energy of his nature and his keen perception of the ridiculous. Those who know him only as a comic lyrist, as the libellous laurea tof chirping folly and presumptuous egotism, would be surprised at the clear sweetness and skylark thrill of his serious and sentimental compositions.

Of Willis G. Clark, Mr. Griswold writes: "His metrical writings are all distinguished for a graceful and elegant diction, thoughts morally and poetically beautiful, and chaste and appropriate imagery." This praise is substantiated by the extracts which follow it. There is much purity and strength of feeling in many of Mr. Clark's poems. Though not marked by much power of imagination, they are replete with fancy and sentiment, and have often a searching pathos and a mournful beauty which find their way quietly to the heart.

C. P. Cranch has worked with some success in the transcendental vein. The "Hours," "Stanzas," "My Thoughts," are specimens of the results of his labors. William Pitt Palmer, whose name we see occasionally flitting through the periodical world, has written a poem on "Light," in the stanza of Shelley's "Cloud," far superior in diction and imagery to a large portion of our miscellaneous poetry. Mr. Griswold would have done well to place him in the body of the volume, instead of the appendix. He is worthy of a more prominent station than he occupies.

John Greenleaf Whittier is one of our most characteristic poets. Few excel him in warmth of temperament. Old John Dennis, the Gifford of Queen Anne's time, describes genius as caused "by a furious joy and pride of soul on the conception of an extraordinary hint. Many men have their hints, without their motions of fury and pride of soul, because they want fire enough to agitate their spirits; and these we call cold writers. Others, who have a great deal of fire, but have not excellent organs, feel the forementioned motions, without the extraordinary hints, and these we call fustian writers." Whittier has this "furious joy" and "pride of soul," even when the "hints" are not extraordi-

nary ; but he never falls into absolute rant and fustian. A common thought comes from his pen " rammed with life." He seems, in some of his lyrics, to pour out his blood with his lines. There is a rush of passion in his verse, which sweeps every thing along with it. His fancy and imagination can hardly keep pace with their fiery companion. His vehement sensibility will not allow the inventive faculties fully to complete what they may have commenced. The stormy qualities of his mind, acting at the suggestions of conscience, produce a kind of military morality which uses all the deadly arms of verbal warfare. When well intrenched in abstract right, he always assumes a hostile attitude towards the champions or practisers of abstract wrong. He aims to give his song " a rude martial tone, — a blow in every thought." His invective is merciless and undistinguishing ; he almost screams with rage and indignation. Occasionally, the extreme bitterness and fierceness of his declamation degenerate into mere shrewishness and scolding. Of late, he has somewhat pruned the rank luxuriance of his style. The " Lines on the Death of Lucy Hooper," " Raphael," " Follen," " Memories," among the poems in his last published volume, are indications that his mind is not without subtle imagination and delicate feeling, as well as truculent strength and fierce energy. There is much spiritual beauty in these little compositions. It is difficult to conceive how the man who can pour out such torrents of passionate feeling, and who evidently loves to see his words tipped with fire, can at the same time write such graceful and thoughtful stanzas as these :

" A beautiful and happy girl
With step as soft as summer air,
And fresh young lip and brow of pearl,
Shadowed by many a careless curl,
Of unconfined and flowing hair :
A seeming child in every thing,
Save thoughtful brow and ripening charms,
As Nature wears the smile of Spring
When sinking into Summer's arms.

" How thrills once more the lengthening chain
Of memory at the thought of thee !
Old hopes, that long in dust have lain,
Old dreams, come thronging back again,
And boyhood lives again in me ;

I feel its glow upon my cheek,
Its fulness of the heart is mine,
As when I learned to hear thee speak,
Or raised my doubtful eye to thine.

"I hear again thy low replies,
I feel thy arm within my own,
And timidly again uprise
The fringèd lids of hazel eyes,
With soft brown tresses overblown.
Ah! memories of sweet summer eves,
Of moonlit wave and willowy way,
Of stars and flowers and dewy leaves,
And smiles and tones more dear than they!

* * * * *

"And wider yet in thought and deed
Our still diverging paths incline,
Thine the Genevan's sternest creed,
While answers to my spirit's need
The Yorkshire peasant's simple line:
For thee the priestly rite and prayer,
And holy day and solemn psalm;
For me the silent reverence, where
My brethren gather, slow and calm."

Whittier has the soul of a great poet, and we should not be surprised if he attained the height of excellence in his art. The faults of his mind, springing from excessive fluency and a too excitable sensibility, exaggerated as they have been by the necessities of hasty composition, have prevented him from displaying as yet the full power of his genius. It is by no means unlikely, that, when he has somewhat tamed the impetuosity of his feelings, and brooded with more quiet intensity over the large stores of poetry which lie chaotically in his nature, he may yet produce a work which will rival, and perhaps excel, the creations of his most distinguished contemporaries. He has that vigor, truthfulness, and manliness of character, — that freedom from conventional shackles, — that careless disregard of Mr. Prettyman's notion as to what constitutes the high, and Miss Betty's notion as to what constitutes the low, — that native energy and independence of nature, — which form the basis of the character of every great genius, and without which poetry is apt to be a mere echo of the drawing-room, and to idealize affectations instead of realities.

We are glad to perceive, that Mr. Griswold has done some justice to the poetical powers of Mrs. Maria Brooks, author of "Zóphiël, or the Bride of Seven." This lady has generally written under the name of Maria del Occidente. Her poems evince mental qualities, which, if they had been employed on themes or incidents more in accordance with popular feeling than those she has chosen, would have given her the first place among American poets of her own sex. Her mind has a wider sweep, and is more poetical in its tendencies, than that of any of her female contemporaries. In fancy and passion, she has hardly been excelled by any American writer. Her mind has been well stored with knowledge, her sense of harmony is exceedingly fine, and her command of language is almost despotic. She possesses great fertility of fancy, and a luxurious sense of the beauty of outward objects. Nature to her is "an appetite and a passion." In the description of tropical scenery, there is a delicious richness, a dreamy beauty, and a "mazy-running soul of harmony," in her verse, which not only bring the scene vividly to the eye, but render it perceptible to the other senses. She has great warmth and occasional intensity of feeling, and gives it free and bold expression. Her poem of "Zóphiël," first published in London, in 1833, is a remarkable production. It has been much praised in England, but seems to be little known in this country. By many it is still considered the work of an Englishwoman. When republished in Boston, it was hailed by most of the newspaper critics with admiring ignorance or pert stupidity. Some were astounded to find a woman of the nineteenth century evincing more knowledge of Plato and Hafiz than of Bulwer or Hannah More; others were shocked, that she should so far wander from the "legitimate sphere" of female composition, as to attempt something more than the versification of sermons, or the vivification of common-places. Though the subject is, on the whole, delicately treated, there are a few stanzas which might have been omitted with advantage to the general refinement of expression. These were darted upon by persons endowed with a sharp scent for indelicacy, and represented, with certain mysterious nods, winks, and the other signs of prudery's freemasonry, as samples of the poem; and, accordingly, the most unjustly neglected work of genius ever

published in the United States came near obtaining the dubious honor of circulating over the whole land as a book "which no young lady should read." We think that Mr. Griswold's selections from "Zóphiël," although they cannot give a full impression of its merits, prove that it contains poetical qualities which would reflect no discredit upon poets of far greater popularity.

Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, of New York, has written a number of short poems of much beauty, purity, and spirituality. "The Sinless Child" and "The Acorn" manifest qualities of mind and heart, which are worthy of a more thorough development. They display much depth of feeling and affluence of fancy, and are singularly pure and sweet in their tone. "The Sinless Child," though deficient in artistical finish, contains many passages of a high order of poetry, and is as stainless as its subject. It gives evidence, also, of a capacity for a more extended sweep over the domain of thought and emotion. Mrs. Smith is not merely a smooth and skilful versifier, indulging occasionally in a flirtation with Poetry, to while away the time, but one whose productions are true exponents of her inward life, and display the freshness and fervor which spring from individuality of character and feeling. She speaks of what she knows and of what she has felt. Her theory of morals does not seem to have come into her soul through the inlet of the ear. Her truthfulness is a prominent characteristic of her genius.

The poems of Mrs. Sigourney are very numerous and popular. According to Mr. Griswold, she has published six or seven volumes, of which the last appeared in 1841. The moral character of her writings is unexceptionable. She possesses great facility in versification, and is fluent both in thoughts and language. But much that she has written is deformed by the triteness and irregularity consequent upon hasty composition, and hardly does justice to her real powers. "Niagara," "The Death of an Infant," "Winter," and "Napoleon's Epitaph," are favorable specimens of her talents.

Mrs. Child has written little verse, but the few metrical pieces which pass under her name are almost as good as her best prose. Hannah F. Gould is a name so pleasantly interwoven with pure fancies and good thoughts, that it is an unpleasant task to sift her productions, for the purpose of

selecting those of enduring value. She is responsible for three volumes of verse, all of which have been read. Mrs. Amelia B. Welby, a young poetess of the west, has considerable force of expression, delicacy of fancy, and the poetic feeling in large measure. Mrs. Elizabeth Hall has acquired much reputation by her dramatic poem of "Miriam," which we noticed at length in a previous number of this Journal.* Elizabeth F. Ellett, Anne Peyre Dinnies (author of that noble expression of high feeling, "The Wife"), Emma C. Embury, Lucy Hooper, Lucretia and Margaret Davidson, receive the due honors of Mr. Griswold's pen and scissors. He makes numerous selections from the female poets.

We wish that we had space to do some justice to the quick, teeming fancy of Willis, a quality which he exercises in the service both of sentiment and humor. But we have noticed his poems at length in a former number of this Journal,† to which we must refer our readers for an estimate of his powers. Pierpont has displayed much lyrical enthusiasm and forcible expression, which are worthy of more than a passing tribute. Drake's delicate creation, "The Culprit Fay," and his stirring lyric on "The American Flag," deserve commemoration. Hillhouse has written much which will not be forgotten. "Hadad" is a chaste and beautiful production, evincing skill and taste in composition, and pure and melodious in its tone. The "sunset-tinted haziness," through which the fine humanity and suggestive imagination of Lowell are seen, would delay the course of any critic who was not in desperate haste. Mr. Griswold has hardly done him justice in the selections contained in this volume. There are many excellent thoughts and imaginations scattered over the compositions of Brainard, Pike, Dawes, Wilde, Ware, Wilcox, Neal, Peabody, Sands, Lunt, Clarke, and others in Mr. Griswold's collection, which if the reader cannot discover himself, he will be assisted in his search by the editor's kindly and genial notices. Had we room for extracts, we might select many pieces of merit from the writings of American poets of the second class; but time and space are particularly inexorable to reviewers, and we must pause.

We can hardly conceive, that a reasonable being should

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLV. p. 312.
† Ibid., Vol. XLIII. p. 384.

look with coldness or dislike upon any efforts to establish a national literature, of which poetry is such an important element. The man, whose heart is capable of any patriotic emotion, who feels his pulse quicken when the idea of his country is brought home to him, must desire that country to possess a voice more majestic than the roar of party, and more potent than the whine of sects, — a voice which should breathe energy and awaken hope wherever its kindling tones are heard. The life of our native land, — the inner spirit which animates its institutions, — the new ideas and principles, of which it is the representative, — these every patriot must wish to behold reflected from the broad mirror of a comprehensive and soul-animating literature. The true vitality of a nation is not seen in the triumphs of its industry, the extent of its conquests, or the reach of its empire ; but in its intellectual dominion. Posterity passes over statistical tables of trade and population, to search for the records of the mind and heart. It is of little moment how many millions of men were included at any time under the name of one people, if they have left no intellectual testimonials of their mode and manner of existence, no "footprints on the sands of time." The heart refuses to glow at the most astounding array of figures. A nation lives only through its literature, and its mental life is immortal. The capricious tyranny of Dionysius might well inspire fear in those whose lives and fortunes were subject to his passions and whims ; but it can exercise no control over us. It died with the feeble arm of him who wielded it. But the power of Plato passed not away with his corporeal frame. Homer still sings, Socrates still speaks, to us. Greece yet lives in her literature, more real to our minds, nearer to our affections, than many European kingdoms. The true monarchs of a country are those whose sway is over thought and emotion. They are

> "The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns."

America abounds in the material of poetry. Its history, its scenery, the structure of its social life, the thoughts which pervade its political forms, the meaning which underlies its hot contests, are all capable of being exhibited in a poetical aspect. Carlyle, in speaking of the settlement of Plymouth

by the Pilgrims, remarks, that, if we had the open sense of the Greeks, we should have "found a poem here; one of nature's own poems, such as she writes in broad facts over great continents." If we have a literature, it should be a national literature; no feeble or sonorous echo of Germany or England, but essentially American in its tone and object. No matter how meritorious a composition may be, as long as any foreign nation can say that it has done the same thing better, so long shall we be spoken of with contempt, or in a spirit of benevolent patronage. We begin to sicken of the custom, now so common, of presenting even our best poems to the attention of foreigners, with a deprecating, apologetic air; as if their acceptance of the offering, with a few soft and silky compliments, would be an act of kindness demanding our warmest acknowledgments. If the Quarterly Review or Blackwood's Magazine speaks well of an American production, we think that we can praise it ourselves, without incurring the reproach of bad taste. The folly we yearly practise, of flying into a passion with some inferior English writer, who caricatures our faults, and tells dull jokes about his tour through the land, has only the effect to exalt an insignificant scribbler into notoriety, and give a nominal value to his recorded impertinence. If the mind and heart of the country had its due expression, if its life had taken form in a literature worthy of itself, we should pay little regard to the childish tattling of a pert coxcomb who was discontented with our taverns, or the execrations of some bluff sea-captain who was shocked with our manners. The uneasy sense we have of something in our national existence, which has not yet been fitly expressed, gives poignancy to the least ridicule launched at faults and follies which lie on the superficies of our life. Every person feels, that a book, which condemns the country for its peculiarities of manners and customs, does not pierce into the heart of the matter, and is essentially worthless. If Bishop Berkeley, when he visited Malebranche, had paid exclusive attention to the habitation, raiment, and manners of the man, and neglected the conversation of the metaphysician, and, when he returned to England, had entertained Pope, Swift, Gay, and Arbuthnot with satirical descriptions of the "complement extern" of his eccentric host, he would have acted just as wisely as many an English tourist, with whose malicious pleasantry on

our habits of chewing, spitting, and eating, we are silly enough to quarrel. To the United States, in reference to the popgun shots of foreign tourists, might be addressed the warning which Peter Plymley thundered against Bonaparte, in reference to the Anti-Jacobin jests of Canning: Tremble, oh! thou land of many spitters and voters, "for a *pleasant* man has come out against thee, and thou shalt be laid low by a joker of jokes, and he shall talk his pleasant talk to thee, and thou shalt be no more!"

In order that America may take its due rank in the commonwealth of nations, a literature is needed which shall be the exponent of its higher life. We live in times of turbulence and change. There is a general dissatisfaction, manifesting itself often in rude contests and ruder speech, with the gulf which separates principles from actions. Men are struggling to realize dim ideals of right and truth, and each failure adds to the desperate earnestness of their efforts. Beneath all the shrewdness and selfishness of the American character, there is a smouldering enthusiasm which flames out at the first touch of fire, — sometimes at the hot and hasty words of party, and sometimes at the bidding of great thoughts and unselfish principles. The heart of the nation is easily stirred to its depths; but those who rouse its fiery impulses into action are often men compounded of ignorance and wickedness, and wholly unfitted to guide the passions which they are able to excite. There is no country in the world which has nobler ideas embodied in more worthless shapes. All our factions, fanaticisms, reforms, parties, creeds, ridiculous or dangerous though they often appear, are founded on some aspiration or reality which deserves a better form and expression. There is a mighty power in great speech. If the sources of what we call our fooleries and faults were rightly addressed, they would echo more majestic and kindling truths. We want a poetry which shall speak in clear, loud tones to the people; a poetry which shall make us more in love with our native land, by converting its ennobling scenery into the images of lofty thoughts; which shall give visible form and life to the abstract ideas of our written constitutions; which shall confer upon virtue all the strength of principle and all the energy of passion; which shall disentangle freedom from cant and senseless hyperbole, and render it a thing of such loveliness and grandeur

as to justify all self-sacrifice ; which shall make us love man by the new consecrations it sheds on his life and destiny ; which shall force through the thin partitions of conventionalism and expediency ; vindicate the majesty of reason ; give new power to the voice of conscience, and new vitality to human affection ; soften and elevate passion ; guide enthusiasm in a right direction ; and speak out in the high language of men to a nation of men.

ART. II. — *Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity.* By JOHN GORHAM PALFREY. With a *Discourse on the Life and Character of John Lowell, Jr.* By EDWARD EVERETT. Boston : James Munroe and Company. 1843. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 367 and 444.

To the late John Lowell, Jr., we are indebted, not only for the most munificent private endowment for literary or philanthropic purposes ever made in New England, but yet more for the conception of an entirely new institution, occupying at once the highest and the broadest ground, — enlisting in its administration the best and most cultivated minds in the community, and bringing the results of their learning and acumen within the reach of multitudes who could enjoy them in no other way. The Lowell Institute is a free University,—a University for the people, — designed to embrace every department of literary, scientific, and ethical culture, to develope and cherish original thought and laborious research on the widest range of subjects, and then to give to genius or application its best reward, in an enlarged utterance, and in the power of the highest usefulness to the greatest number.

The first series of lectures published in behalf of the Institute ought, of course, to contain Mr. Everett's beautiful biography of its founder. From this we learn, that the bequest, by which he has made his fellow-citizens so largely his debtors, was in entire harmony with his whole life and spirit. He belonged to that class of liberal-minded merchants, whose generous love of arts and letters has left its traces in the foundation of nearly every professorship in our

ancient University, and in nearly every alcove in her library; while their philanthropy has surrounded their city with noble institutions for the relief of almost every infirmity of body, mind, and heart. Among those who have contributed to raise to so high an intellectual and moral standard the mercantile character of our metropolis, the ancestors and near kindred of Mr. Lowell, both on his father's and his mother's side, deserve, and have received from Mr. Everett, the most respectful and grateful notice. Thus surrounded by examples of talent and wealth consecrated to the public good, even while most deeply engrossed in business, Mr. Lowell neglected no worthy cause which he could aid, and shunned no trust or office, in which he could contribute to the general welfare. With an earnest thirst for knowledge, he combined a no less earnest desire for its diffusion; and a prominent item of his preparation for the extended plan of travel, in the prosecution of which he died, was the bequest of an ample portion of his property for the support of those courses of lectures which now bear his name. His testamentary directions were completed in a codicil to his will, written amidst the ruins of Thebes. These directions, with Mr. Everett's just and appropriate commentary upon them, we had marked for insertion; but find that they were quoted in a former number of this Journal, in a notice of Mr. Everett's Lecture,* an edition of which was published soon after its delivery. Referring our readers to that notice for the sketch of Mr. Lowell's life and plan, which we should otherwise have given here, we pass at once to Dr. Palfrey's Lectures.

We have, in these volumes, three courses of eight lectures each, delivered in three successive years, — the first course comprising the "general scheme of the evidences of Christianity," and the second and third being a compend of the history of infidelity, — a synopsis of Jewish, Pagan, and Deistical objections to Christianity. We have, also, in an Appendix to the first volume, Dr. Palfrey's valuable Dudleian Lecture on "The Theory and Uses of Natural Religion."

Dr. Palfrey's style of thought is eminently perspicuous. We never encounter in his writings those shadowy, half-

* Vol. LI. pp 225, *et seq.*

formed, prematurely penned ideas, which in our times stand so often in the place of sound, sober thought. His language is carefully chosen, explicit, and in pure taste. His sentences are all full of meaning, and unencumbered by mere expletives. His only fault of style is a tendency to involved, indirect, circuitous phraseology, — an over-fondness for parenthesis, — a too free use, and too frequent repetition of qualifying words and phrases, — the besetting sin of an accurate mind, which likes not to trust to the reader any one idea, without connecting with it, in the compass of the same sentence, all its needed modifications and abatements. This peculiarity, no doubt, makes Dr. Palfrey a less popular writer with the multitude than he might otherwise be ; but the patient and diligent reader will find that he is making constant progress with his author, and that, when one of these complex sentences is mastered, he has taken a long step forward on solid ground, — has become fully possessed of some one entire and definite idea closely connected with the point under discussion.

The work before us is marked throughout by carefully matured thought, and by explicit and guarded statement. Its reasoning, though close and acute, is never captious or sophistical, — though profound, is always clear. As a compend of the evidences of Christianity, it takes precedence of all previous works in point of comprehensiveness and thoroughness, while in no respect is it inferior to any, except that one may miss in it the winning *naïveté* of Paley's style and manner, — a grace in which he confessedly stands alone and unapproached.

Dr. Palfrey's reasoning is, throughout, severely just and accurate, equally shunning the opposite errors of unauthorized assumption on his own side, and of gratuitous concession to his opponents. This happy medium has rarely been attained. The error of many professed defenders of the faith has been, that they have assumed more than a skeptic is bound to grant, — that they have taken their stand on a higher ground than their opponents, — that they have begged some points in order to prove others. The result has been the production of wholesome homilies, of well-phrased panegyrics on Christianity, highly edifying to a believer, but worse than useless for their professed purpose, inasmuch as they leave upon an indifferent or hostile mind the impression,

that Christianity has not its basis in the common laws of belief, — in those fundamental truths which no one questions. Christians have written as if it were gross sacrilege to uncover the foundations of their faith ; they have been restrained by sincere religious awe from the minute, logical analysis of the elements of their belief ; and their adversaries have mistaken their reverence for a lurking skepticism. But in the work before us, while a tone of deep religious reverence is sustained throughout, it is not suffered to interfere with the full and candid statement of difficulties and objections, — with the exhibition of the entire field of controversy, — with the surrender of all the vantage-ground often claimed on the score of hallowed associations. No appeal is made to the religious biases of education, — none to the odium which so generally attaches to infidelity.

Dr. Palfrey has no less happily shunned an error of the opposite bearing. Many writers on the evidences of Christianity have written as if they doubted the force of their own arguments and the validity of their own answers to objections. Difficulties, which they had seemingly disposed of, they have not suffered to lie still. Phantoms of doubt, which they had once laid, they have summoned up again. Indeed, the process in some works has seemed to be, the evoking of every spirit of unbelief, and the doing battle with all of them to the last, the curtain dropping in the midst of the grand *mêlée*, with the scales of victory equipoised. Dr. Palfrey claims the right of trying each separate issue by itself, — of regarding a point once proved as definitively settled, and an objection once refuted as put out of the combat. For instance, after proving that the Gospels, which we now have, are the undoubted writings of the men whose names they bear, he suffers no floating doubt of the authorship of these records to mingle with the discussion of their trustworthiness, but makes use of their genuineness, already demonstrated, as an available "stand-point" for farther reasoning. In like manner, too, when he has vindicated the Evangelists from the charge of imposture, and has made their honesty an established fact, he takes his position upon that fact in proving that they were well-informed and undeluded witnesses and historians. Now, this is the only true mode of reasoning ; it is acknowledged as legitimate in every other department of inquiry ; nothing that needs proof

could be proved without it. On all other subjects, men refuse to retrace steps once taken, and to yield ground once won ; but they use, as they would axioms, propositions already demonstrated. Why, then, should the Christian apologist deem nothing proved, till he has proved every thing, — no portion of the field his own, till he has conquered the whole of it ? Why should he, unless for the mere show of arms, surrender any vantage-ground lawfully acquired ? Hardly any other subject would bear to be thus treated ; and nothing gives us so high an idea of the overflowing fulness and sufficiency of the Christian evidences, as the fact that they can present a fair front, and carry with them great weight of proof, when thus exhibited in detail and without mutual defence or corroboration.

Another prominent, and, as we believe, a unique excellence of Dr. Palfrey's work, consists in his confining the argument to Christianity considered as distinct from Judaism, instead of blending the two together, and intermingling the trains of reasoning appropriate to each respectively. Now, as to ourselves, we sincerely believe, as does our author, in the divine origin of the Mosaic economy. Nay, more, we plead guilty (notwithstanding the tendency of the times to sneer and cavil at the supernatural) to a belief in all the Scriptures, in ante-Abrahamic and post-Mosaic revelations, in a chain of miracle and prophecy reaching from the first to the second Adam. Our philosophy, if we have any, is in this matter the handmaid of our faith. On *a priori* grounds, we should not expect to find the Christian revelation, so vast, so full, so clear, occupying an isolated place, midway in the records of the past ; but should look for some pre-announcement of the Anointed of God and the Regenerator of man, — some fore-shining of the true and universal light. We should expect to see somewhere in the past the rude germ of a religious system so comprehensive and perfect, and to trace its gradual unfolding, its budding promise, from age to age. Had we not the Old Testament extant, we should cherish no doubt that there had been one, if not written with a human pen, yet engraven by miracle on the phenomena of nature, and by the divine spirit on the fleshly tablets of the heart. Yet, with this belief, so far are we from adducing the Old Testament to substantiate the New, that we reason back from the New to the Old, in order to

authenticate the latter on what seems to us the surest ground. The prophetical argument for the truth of Christianity we deem complete and sound ; but it is better adapted to confirm than to create faith. It is not of a nature to be appreciated by ignorant or stubborn unbelief. The proofs of the antiquity, genuineness, and authenticity of the books of Old Testament, real and convincing as they are, are too archaic and recondite in their character, to be set forth with good effect in popular lectures or treatises ; and yet the unbeliever justly demands these proofs, when arguments are drawn from the Old Testament in behalf of the religion of the New. If you allege a particular prediction as fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth, it is not enough for you to demonstrate its application to him, and to him alone. You must also convince the skeptic, perhaps a man unversed in the laws of historical evidence, (which is a very different thing from convincing yourself,) that the words which you cite were written before the advent of Jesus.

Then, again, the internal objections and difficulties connected with the Old Testament are much more numerous and grave than those connected with the New. That this is the case, if not a *primâ facie* argument in favor of the Old Testament, is, at least, a fact, the absence of which would indicate a supposititious system, of modern creation, sustained by forged records. Were the steps to the authentication of the Old Testament obvious and easy, it could not be what it purports to be, namely, the record of an abrogated system, temporary and local in its character, based upon the exigencies of an age, of which it is the only surviving monument. Christianity and its records, on the other hand, purport to have had their birth in a well known age, on which the most enduring monuments of ancient literature and art reflect a flood of light, and among a people, whose national traits have been stereotyped for two thousand years, and whose condition then, and their fortunes ever since, are the subject of authentic history. Then, too, if Christianity be of divine origin, it was undoubtedly designed to be perpetual and universal ; and we should therefore expect to find, that its divine Author had suffered to be connected with its records fewer things that could become obsolete, or unintelligible, or distasteful, than we might find in the records of a system equally divine, which the world was destined to outgrow.

Moreover, Christianity is complete and sufficient in itself without Judaism and its records. A man need not be made a Jew, in order to become a Christian. One might have the firmest possible faith in the divine origin of Christianity, and yet might deny the credibility of many parts of the Old Testament, and have little or no faith in the inspiration of Moses. The early Gentile converts, nay, many of the Fathers, knew little and thought little of the Old Testament; and the just estimation in which the Christian world now holds it, as the authentic record of God's earlier revelations, it attained only by slow degrees, and not in the whole church until the fourth or fifth century. Why, then, should the inquirer into the truth of Christianity be perplexed, against his will, by the entire argument in behalf of Judaism? Or, why should objections to the earlier dispensation be suffered to hang about the later and clearer? Far better is the course taken in the work before us. Let Christianity be set forth as based on the immutable grounds of historical testimony and undoubted miracle, and as authenticated by internal marks of divinity, which no imposture could counterfeit, and which no well disposed mind can mistake. There let the inquirer pause, if he will. Thus far, let all doubts be put at rest, as they easily may be. Then let Judaism, with its records, constitute a distinct and independent branch of inquiry; for it opens not only a wider field, but a different mode of research, demands a different apparatus for investigation, and claims, if proved authentic, a different kind of reverence. A different *kind*, we say, not degree; for whatever is divine must needs be perfect in its place and for its uses, and therefore demands the highest *degree* of reverence; but we revere Judaism and its records with a simply objective regard, as the light of another world than ours; while Christianity is the central orb of our own system, the sun of our own souls.

The first course of Dr. Palfrey's Lectures occupies in the main the ground marked out by Paley, and retraced in part by most of the professed treatises on the Christian evidences. But the field, though covered by a host of writers, was by no means exhausted; and these lectures constitute an original work, so far as in the nature of things originality can be affirmed of such a work. The arrangement is both comprehensive and compact. The leading heads of argument

are exhibited in the relative order in which they would naturally present themselves to a seeker after truth, and are made to bear upon each other with a constantly accumulating power. The first lecture, on the respective provinces and mutual relations of the *internal* and the *external* evidences of Christianity, is a treatise of very great value, and admirably adapted to rebuke the sneering tone which some assume, and to shape the vague ideas which many entertain, with regard to the validity of historical testimony in matters of faith. It is, in truth, intrinsically necessary, that religion should have a historical basis. We have no conclusive internal evidence of any thing out of the range of our own consciousness. The utmost that internal marks of credibility can do, out of the province of consciousness, is, to render a proposition probable by showing its consistency with previously ascertained truth, and thus to prepare the way for the presentation of historical evidence, or to confirm it when presented. But the truths of religion are, most of them, out of the range of consciousness. We can be conscious only of what appertains to ourselves and to the present moment, while religious truth embraces all orders of beings and a past and future eternity. Concerning these beings and this eternity, we may, indeed, form plausible conjectures ; we may test such views as are proposed by our own notions of fitness and rectitude, and may feel ourselves strongly drawn towards certain opinions and repelled from others by their accordance or discrepancy with our own sentiments or characters. But this accordance is not demonstration, nor is this discrepancy disproof ; for how know we, that we ourselves may not have fallen out of the harmony of the spiritual universe, so that, in fact, that which is the most widely at variance with our tone of feeling may be the truth ? Is it said, that harmony with our *intuitions* is the unfailing criterion of truth ? We reply, that it is impossible to distinguish our intuitions from the early and established results of education, reasoning, or prejudice. That this is the case is evident from the discrepancy between the alleged intuitions of persons differing as to nation, culture, or religion.

But we are told, that truth, being absolute and universal, cannot be safely received on human testimony, but only on that of the Absolute Being himself, with whose nature and attributes all truth is identical. This we grant. But men

are adequate witnesses to individual and local facts ; and such facts, when they stand apart from the common course of nature, and transcend the established sphere of human agency, must needs be the expressions, signs, or indications of absolute truth. Herein lies the efficacy of miracles as a form of testimony. We do not contend that Matthew, or John, or Paul is a competent witness to absolute truth. But miracles, if they have occurred, are individual and local facts, and, as such, may be substantiated, like any other facts, by human testimony. They are facts, which, from their very definition, must have taken place aside from the usual course of events and beyond the power of man. They are, therefore, the voice, the testimony, of God ; and whatever truth they imply, and whatever truth they attest, by taking place in immediate connexion with its promulgation, rests on the authority of God. We do not, then, when we urge the external evidences of Christianity, present the Apostles and Evangelists as witnesses to the truths which constitute the Christian religion ; — to these truths God is our only witness ; — those great and holy men simply substantiate the miraculous facts, which are God's testimony.

Having shown the necessity and value of external testimony, and assigned to internal evidence its deservedly high, and yet subordinate, rank in the scale of Christian evidences, Dr. Palfrey proceeds to prove the *a priori* credibility of miracles, and the necessity and seasonableness of the Christian revelation. Under this last head, he has given us the most graphic and truthful picture that we remember to have seen of the intellectual and moral condition of mankind at the time of the Saviour's advent, enriched by numerous and peculiarly apt classical references and quotations. He then proves the authenticity of the four Gospels ; clears the Evangelists from the charges of imposture and enthusiasm ; establishes their trustworthiness as witnesses to the facts which they relate ; and exhibits the early and ample reception of their narratives, under circumstances of time, place, and antagonist belief and interest, which must have subjected their testimony to the most searching and skeptical scrutiny, as a phenomenon to be accounted for only by supposing them true and faithful witnesses.

The argument comprised in these eight lectures is close, logical, continuous. We miss no essential link. We de-

tect no irrelevant matter. The whole could be reduced to a few simple syllogisms. There is no compend of the Christian evidences, which we should put so hopefully as we should this, into the hands of a candid and philosophical unbeliever ; and, could this course be published apart from the other two, somewhat simplified in style, and recast from the form of lectures into that of a compact treatise, with appropriate divisions and titles, it would become at once a highly popular work, — a text-book for schools and colleges, — a book for the many, which the many would read, and prize, and enjoy.

But admirably as the plan of the first of these courses is filled out, and its designs accomplished, the work, as it now is, will be chiefly sought for and valued on account of the second and third courses. The complete history of infidelity was, so far as we know, never written before. The materials here brought together were previously accessible only through the medium of a larger library than falls to the lot of many private individuals. The monuments of pagan hostility to our religion, few indeed and fragmentary, are widely scattered. The only avowed compend of Jewish anti-Christian writings, which we have ever seen, is Wagenseil's " Tela Ignea Satanæ," which contains barely a few Rabbinical tracts, with a Latin version, and a verbose, pedantic, and almost interminable commentary. The period covered by Leland's " View of English Deistical Writers " includes most (though not all) of the distinguished names that have been arrayed in England against the Christian faith ; but this, though almost supplying the place of the writers themselves for all purposes of reference, is not a book to be read so much as to be consulted. The sneers and the sophisms of French unbelief are, indeed, hardly worth collecting, with a view to rebut or expose them, from those foulest of literary *cloacæ*, where they are fast rotting in oblivion ; but still the reign of irreligion in France covers so large a space on the map of the yet recent past, as to excite a reasonable curiosity respecting its sources and its agents. German infidelity, mystified, sublimated, and unlabelled, must, to be sure, be encountered by all, who, in the departments of philosophy, biblical criticism, and theology, would avail themselves of German learning ; but its Heaven-daring audacity and its pompous shallowness can be fully exposed only by the attempt to clothe its in-

flated, featureless, limbless form in plain Anglo-Saxon garments. By bringing together all these phases of unbelief in a succinct form, and giving us a comprehensive view of its history from the earliest times, Dr. Palfrey has rendered an eminent service to the cause of religion.

But what can the history of infidelity do for the cause of religion? Much, every way, we reply. Christianity is proved, not by demonstrative, but by moral reasoning. Now demonstration is the only one-sided argument. In all departments of moral reasoning, there are two sides to every question,—there are arguments for, and objections against, every proposition. Our conviction is determined by the preponderance of arguments over objections, or of objections over arguments; and the strength of our conviction depends on the degree of this preponderance. We receive with confidence a proposition, for which we find but few and slender positive arguments, if there be hardly a shadow of objection to it; for this very lack of objections is itself an argument. On the other hand, we receive with great doubt, or utterly reject, a proposition sustained by a great weight of positive argument, if the objections to it are numerous and difficult to be answered. With regard to Christianity, the positive argument in favor of its divine origin approaches as near to demonstration as moral reasoning can; but the actual weight and worth of this argument depend upon the strength or weakness of the counter-argument. If infidelity can indeed make out a strong case, then does the array of argument on the Christian side, overpowering as it seems at first sight, furnish no adequate basis for belief. But if infidelity is shallow and sophistical, if it perpetually repeats itself, if it has conceded separately every point that the Christian claims, then do its weakness and inconsistency add much weight to the positive argument for Christianity. A synoptical view of the history of unbelief is, therefore, essential to the fair, and, we add with gratitude, to the full exhibition of the Christian evidences. Infidelity gains nothing by the mustering of its forces. Bring them together, and they destroy each other.

Before we had read these Lectures of Dr. Palfrey, a friend, who is not much of a reasoner, told us that this work was greatly disfigured by constant references to former lectures, in such forms as the following: "This question I treated at large in a former lecture," — "These objections

had before been urged by Tindal, and have already received our attention," — "This writer revived and amplified an objection, which I formerly mentioned as having been urged by some of the ancient opponents of the faith." It is a fact, that such forms of speech are very frequent, and that they thicken fast as the work draws to a close. But they occur by no fault of the author. On the other hand, they constitute to a reflecting believer one of the most pleasant features of the work; for they reveal the narrow compass, and the incessant repetition from age to age, of infidel arguments and objections. Indeed, the canon of infidelity was long since closed. Not a single new argument against Christianity has been brought forward for the last two hundred years; and very few new things have been said or written on that side since the days of the Emperor Julian. The French Encyclopædists originated nothing but ribaldry and buffoonery. Rationalistic Germany has done little more than to caricature the Gospels, by employing Hume's heartless, ungodly skepticism in their pseudo-interpretation. Paine simply copied from Voltaire gibes and scoffs, which Voltaire had raked together from ancient kennels both Jewish and Gentile. It is amazing, that, while so many ingenious minds have been employed against Christianity, they should have collected so scanty materials. The testimony against the gospel has been very much like that against its Author and Finisher, when "they sought many witnesses, but found none, till at last they found two witnesses, yet neither did their testimony agree." Indeed, a large part of the literature of infidelity is made up of individual idiosyncrasies,— of objections which grew out of some peculiar bias of the author's own mind, and could have no weight with any other mind. Unbelief has run in an exceedingly narrow cycle, and has been constantly returning upon itself. New books, in its refutation, have for many years been needless. The new infidel publications, that appear from time to time, only need, for their refutation, that we refer to the right page and chapter of works often as old as those of Justin and Origen.

On the other hand, the evidences of Christianity have been accumulating from age to age. Every department of science, every art, every new chapter of human experience, brings its separate contribution of argument or illustration. Geography, philosophy, natural history, psychology, have

all poured rich and still increasing light upon the Scriptures and their contents. Science has, in numerous instances, attained, in confirmation of revealed religion and its records, results, at which it cavilled in the outset. There are rich and productive veins of Christian evidence, which have just begun to be worked. The argument from the results of Christianity, from its influence on science, art, literature, and human happiness, it would take scores of volumes to write, and, in the rapid vicissitudes, and the unprecedented progress of society, no year now passes without presenting this argument in new aspects. But it has as yet received no systematic treatment, and lies a field fully white for the harvest, to reward the labors of the friends of truth. Judging from the past and the present, we may safely say, that the evidences of Christianity will be continually presented from new points of view, and with an exhaustless affluence of argument and illustration, till the arrival of that yet distant day, when universal faith will make formal proof superfluous.

The concessions of infidels, we next remark, give the Christian all that he claims. We question not that an edifying and useful treatise on the evidences of Christianity might be constructed by putting together those passages of infidel writers, in which they defend some portions of the system, while attacking others, and in which they contend for the validity of some modes of proof, while seeking to invalidate others. We know not any author who has written against Christianity, who has not granted some cardinal point in its favor, either as regards the genuineness of its records, the purity of its morals, the dignity of its Founder's character, or the credibility of some of its doctrines.

This consideration derives additional weight from the fact, that infidels, in general, have made their concessions with regard to those parts of Christianity or its evidences, to which they were respectively the most competent witnesses. Thus the early opposers of Christianity, both Jewish and Gentile, occupied a position eminently favorable to the exposure of error in the alleged facts of the gospel, or of forgery as to its records ; and they unanimously admitted the genuineness of those records, and the authenticity of the evangelical narrative as a whole. All the early unbelievers referred to the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, and cited them by name, just as we Christians do now ; and they

have quoted passages various enough and long enough to establish beyond dispute the identity of the books in their hands with our present canonical books. We might extract, from what remains to us of the writings of the unbeliever Celsus alone, a pretty satisfactory compend of gospel history.* Most of these early unbelievers also admitted our Saviour's miracles as unquestionable facts. This, it will be remembered, was the case with our Saviour's most vehement personal enemies among the Jews of his own day. They did not deny that he cast out demons, but reproached him for casting them out through the aid of Beelzebub.† The same ground was generally taken by the pagan adversaries of Christianity. They admitted the preternatural character of Christ's works ; but maintained that he wrought them through magic arts acquired in Egypt. The Jews also, even down to the thirteenth century or later, while, of course, they denied the divine mission of Christ, universally admitted him to have been a great wonder-worker, but ascribed his miracles to magic. This is the story of the Talmuds, and we find it repeated in the Rabbinical writings, from century to century, under two different versions, — the one, that he learned magic in Egypt, the other, that he stole the ineffable name of God from the corner-stone of the temple, and by means of it wrought divine works. Now, what more could the early adversaries of our religion have done for its defence, than to have left on record their clear, full admission of the leading supernatural facts in our Saviour's life ? These facts it behooved them to deny, if they could, and to cast whatever discredit they could upon the books containing them. But they lived too near the times. They could not deny facts, which had engraven themselves so deeply upon the general mind. They could not gainsay records, the marks of whose genuineness were known and read of all men. They resorted, therefore, to that puerile hypothesis of magic, which in those superstitious

* Our theological readers will remember, that Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian are among the foremost witnesses cited in favor of Christianity and its records, in Lardner's " Credibility."

† This statement, indeed, rests, for its authority, on the records whose genuineness is the point in discussion ; but the Evangelists must certainly be allowed, on all hands, to be valid witnesses to reproaches and calumnies, which they quote with manifest mortification, and which, at an age when such charges could find easy credence, they had every worldly motive to suppress.

ages could find some credence, but which, in our days, only reveals the utter hollowness and absurdity of their unbelief.

Is it asked, What, then, were the chief objections of those early adversaries of Christianity? Many of them were based on the assumed truth of then existing religions, and, of course, have no weight now; for with modern skepticism, the question is not between Christianity and some other religion, but between Christianity and no religion. But many of the objections of early unbelievers were based on essential and immutable features of our religion, and on features, which now, so far from demanding apology, contribute the most largely to its defence and its honor. Things, which were "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness," are now on all hands acknowledged to be full of divine wisdom and beauty. Thus Celsus dwells much on the lowliness of our Saviour's birth, and on the circumstance, that the gospel addresses itself to the poor and humble, — facts, which have so entirely revolutionized the opinions of all Christendom with regard to the accident of birth or outward rank, that no modern infidel would dare to cite them in disparagement of Christianity. The cross was perpetually cast in the teeth of the early Christians; but what Christian now would think of defending the cross, or of making an apology for the prayer, "*Fac me cruce custodiri*"? That, whereon the Man of Sorrows was hung in ignominy, from having been a grievous burden and reproach for ages to his church, has now become the proudest and most cherished of symbols, — sparkles in the diadem of royalty and on the brow of beauty, and claims homage a hundred-fold for the old world's contempt and scorn. And, in this marvellous transfiguration, the cross is a type of numerous features of its own religion, which, in the early ages of the church, were shot at from every quiver, but which are now placed for ever beyond attack and above defence.

In modern times, unbelief has taken a different route. It has confined its objections, for the most part, to the records and the facts connected with Christianity, the evidences of which are buried in remote antiquity; while it has made the largest and most valuable concessions with regard to the practical working of the Christian system, its beneficial tendencies and results, its elevating and reforming influence upon society, — points, of which the early unbelievers were

incompetent judges, but which sixteen or seventeen centuries of successful experiment have enabled modern infidels to decide satisfactorily. We know not where to look for more eloquent and discriminating testimony to the intrinsic worth and power of our religion, than we might quote from the writings of English and French infidels of the last two centuries. Rousseau, whose name, to almost every ear, is identified with infidelity, in some of his works professes the most enthusiastic veneration for the sacred writings, dilates upon the sanctity of the gospel code of morals, protests against the comparison of the writings of the ancient philosophers with the books of the New Testament, and with passionate eloquence exalts the character of Christ above every other ideal of excellence that man has ever beheld or imagined. He maintained, that the institutions of Christianity ought to be supported at public expense, as the bulwarks of society, and the sources of the most beneficent influence to all classes and conditions of men. The same sentiments, which Rousseau dressed up in the most glowing, moving rhetoric, we find set forth at great length, and with much explicitness of statement, by Woolston, Morgan, and other English infidels, — men who, with consummate inconsistency, first demonstrate, with great show of sincerity, that Christianity is useful and good, pure and true, in its doctrines and its precepts, and then attempt to persuade their readers that it is not a gift of God, and ought by all means to be despised and rejected.

Such are the concessions of infidels in favor of Christianity. "Their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges." The temple of our faith stands entire in strength and beauty, as those enemies testify, each with regard to the portion to which he is a competent witness. Those, who lived near the time when the corner-stone was laid, bear testimony to its depth and firmness; those, who have beheld the finished building (while they question the sufficiency of the foundation, which they must dig deep to see), own its proportions fair, its walls complete in grace and majesty, its altars chaste and venerable, its sanctuary pure and holy. Our adversaries, taken together, make good our cause. They furnish Christianity with a sufficient defence. We need only collect and arrange their admissions, — nothing of our own is wanted to complete the pile of evidence.

We close our notice of Dr. Palfrey's work, (a notice more brief and cursory than it claims and deserves,) with our sincere thanks for a compend so able, thorough, and scholarly, and with the earnest hope, that other engagements may not permanently alienate him from those departments of Biblical and theological learning, which his accurate habits of thought and a life of diligent and profound study have so admirably qualified him to enrich and adorn.

ART. III. — *Ueber die Moeglichkeit eines zwischen dem deutschen Zoll-Verein und den Vereinigten Staaten von America abzuschliessenden Handels und Schifffahrts-Vertrags.* (On the Possibility of a direct Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the States of the German Tariff-League and the United States of America. "The German Quarterly," of January 1st, 1843.)

THE German Quarterly (*Die Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*) of the 1st of January, 1843, contains an elaborate article in support of certain opinions that coincide in a singular manner with the views expressed by Mr. Webster, at Baltimore, respecting reciprocity treaties, and combating with much energy the particular treaty of commerce and navigation, which now exists between the Hanseatic towns, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, on the one part, and the United States on the other. This reciprocity treaty, the writer declares, has proved entirely illusory in respect to the benefits expected from it for both countries. Germany, he says, secures to her large manufacturing population in Saxony and Westphalia no advantage that is not, by the mere operation of the tariff laws of the United States, equally shared by Great Britain and France; while the United States, by securing the market of the Hanse Towns for their great staples, have not yet gained a *débouché* in Germany. The United States have, by treaty, put the ships of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck on the same footing as their own; but in return, they are not permitted to send their cotton, tobacco, and rice to the States of the German League, except on such terms as the latter may think prop-

er; and the League, in judging of that propriety, looks to its own interests, and not to those of the Hanse Towns. We fully agree with the writer in the German Quarterly, though we may not share his views in respect to the maritime prospects of Germany.

"Whether Germany, within her present limits," says this writer, "will ever be able to become a maritime power, is a question which has been answered by enthusiasts in the affirmative, which has caused many a sardonic smile to the incredulous and doubtful, and which has been flatly denied by those who seem to be most deeply concerned in the matter. The South of Germany is in favor of a national navy; the North, and especially the States which border on the Baltic and the German Ocean, are against it. The difficulty is supposed to lie in the want of good harbours; but Embden, Brake, and a number of the small ports in the North Sea and the Baltic, might, with very little expense, be made naval stations. Hanover, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Prussia, and the Hanse Towns at the North, and the Austrian ports in the Adriatic Gulf, would give to a united German empire greater maritime advantages than are possessed by France, which, after all, has only the miserable port of Havre de Grâce in the British Channel for its principal Transatlantic trade, and Marseilles on the Mediterranean, which scarcely rivals Trieste, for the trade of the Levant. Germany, united into one nation, in all probability would possess greater advantages for commerce and navigation than any continental power of Europe, and would find in her custom-house regulations a sufficient means of making reprisals for either British, French, or American encroachments. She would then contain an eminently industrious population of nearly sixty-four millions, who, by the exclusion from their markets of any particular kind of foreign merchandise, would be able to obtain from any country such concessions to their commerce and navigation as would comport with their power and dignity."

Such are the political speculations of German writers of the present day. On this side of the Atlantic, we are disposed to ask, — Will the powers of Germany ever be united, and, when so, will they be willing to make a favorable treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States? We think, from present indications, that the chances are in favor of such an event. No other country on earth has felt the evils of internal dissensions more severely than Germany; — none other has, in consequence of its divisions into many in-

dependent States, been brought so near the verge of destruction. The Germans now understand very well, that the Peace of Westphalia destroyed their national existence, and that, in this age of material philosophy, nothing short of an appeal to the immediate interests of the people and their princes can again unite them. The intended union of the *material* interests of the country, ever since the year 1830, has been used as a check on the democratic tendencies which began to manifest themselves at that period. Here was a common road, on which both the people and their rulers might travel side by side, and, as it was the only one which remained open to them, it was but reasonable to suppose that they would take it.

The mass of the German people looked upon the mere abstract theories promulgated by the French Republicans partly with suspicion and partly with horror; but they easily comprehended the immense advantages to be derived from a firm union among themselves, and from the abolition of the odious excise, which prevented free trade and intercourse between the different States. Louis Philippe gave the world an example of a judicious government. He occupied himself with plans for improving the condition of the middle classes, and, by that means, held both the remnant of the ancient nobles, and the lower orders in subjection. The example was too striking not to be followed in Germany. The education of the Germans had, for many years, been in advance of their physical means and comforts, a position, which, of all others, is most fraught with danger to the happiness and tranquillity of a people. Now was the time to furnish aids to their industry and to improve their social condition. Never was there a period more propitious for the establishment of a peaceful union; and, as if to guaranty a happy issue, two attempts of this sort had already been made and had succeeded. Bavaria and Wurtemberg had formed a commercial league, and the Hanse Towns, with this end in view, had made a proposition to Hanover, Oldenburg, and Hesse Cassel, which, we believe, was accepted, if not actually executed. Prussia at last proposed to place herself at the head of the movement, and, in spite of the political jealousies of the minor States, skilfully fanned and operated on by British and French agents, succeeded in establishing what was then called "The Prussian Tariff-League" (*Der Preussische*

Zoll-Verein).* Had the British advocates of free trade at that time acted up to their theories, and shown any disposition to treat with the German States on principles of reci-

* For the information of a portion of our readers, we extract from a recent publication of Mr. Macgregor, an English writer of high authority, a brief account of the origin and nature of the German Tariff-League.

"This commercial union is, in fact, purely Germanic. The inconvenience of numerous customs-barriers formed not only impediments of the greatest injury to the national commerce and manufacturing interests of the several States, but the expense of maintaining a multitude of guards to prevent smuggling, and to secure the taxes levied upon commodities, was enormous in proportion to the revenue collected, while the moral effect was, at the same time, exceedingly pernicious.

"The maintaining numerous lines or circles of customs, necessary to secure any revenue from commodities entering or passing through the several small States of Germany, was attended with such grievous inconvenience and expense, that, in 1826, Saxe Weimar, Eisenach, Saxe Coburg, Saxe Gotha, Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Altenburg, Schwartzburg Sonderhausen, Saxe Rudolstadt, Anhalt Dessau, Reuss Schleitz, Reuss Greitz, Reuss Lobenstein Ebersdorf, with a total population of 894,778, entered into an union for a general line of customs-barriers to surround their extreme frontier; and, after deducting the whole expense of collection, to divide the net revenue, arising from the duties thus collected upon the importation or transit of foreign commodities, among the several States, in proportion to the respective population of each.

"This first union, which Prussia did not certainly originate, was called '*Der Mittel Verein*,' and, in April, 1827 and 1828, Bavaria and Wurtemberg joined in a union of customs, with the view of not admitting any except the small States enclosed or partly enclosed within those kingdoms, into the association.

"Eventually, the kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, with Hesse Darmstadt and Hesse Cassel, signed, on the 22d of March, 1833, the celebrated Convention, called the '*Zoll-Verein*,' or Union of Customs, the net revenue of which was to be divided among the several States, strictly in proportion to the numbers of their respective population.

"The Thuringian and other States which had not previously joined, except Baden, Nassau, and Frankfort, signed a Convention of Union with Prussia and the others on the 11th of May, 1833; Nassau and Baden joined on the 12th of May, 1835, and Frankfort united with it in the following year. In 1841, Brunswick and Lippe Schaumberg entered the League, and Luxemburg joined in January, 1842.

"The terms of this union may be stated in few words. A tariff was fixed upon, at which goods brought within the common barrier which enclosed these States should be taxed. Upon the payment of the duties imposed by this tariff at any part of the barrier, the goods were to be permitted to circulate, without further let or charge, throughout all parts of the States lying within the common border.

"A common standard of value was agreed upon, by which all money transactions were to be regulated; and, at the end of the year, the net proceeds received at the common barrier were to be divided between the States which composed the union, according to their respective population.

"The political effect of this union has been to create a perfect fusion of all small and conflicting interests into one grand confederation, having one common interest. By it, Prussia has nationalized in one great union Northern

procity, it is highly probable that they might have postponed the formation of the League ; but the whole tendency of Germany toward such union was so palpable, that England could not permanently have prevented it.

At first, the liberal Deputies in the Chambers of Wurtemberg and Baden, and, for a while, those of Bavaria also, were opposed to the formation of a commercial union with an absolute power ; but they were soon obliged to yield to the good sense of the community, and more especially of the industrious classes, whose instinctive judgment was much more correct than the philosophical conclusions of the *literati*. In vain did Hofrath Welker declare, in the Chamber of the Grand Duchy of Baden, that "the spinning of cotton and the working of iron did not render a people free." Experience had taught them, that it made them *comfortable*, that it improved the condition of the laborer, raised the rate of interest of the capitalist, and secured to the farmer a better price for his produce. Against such practical lessons, the metaphysical dissertations of political philosophers were as nothing, and only served to bring their theories, and the cause they were advocating, into disrepute. The improvement of the *physical* condition of the people was thus found to be one of the best means of checking the revolutionary tendencies of the age, and, having produced such unexpected results in France, was now seriously taken into consideration

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and South Western Germany; she has acquired the friendly disposition of an intelligent moral population ; and, by making the petty sovereignties chiefly dependent for their future revenues on the permanence of the union, she has rendered their fidelity to her in peace and war the future condition on which they can exist as sovereigns.

"It is, indeed, evident, that the spirit and object of this confederation have been to unite and strengthen Germany as one great nation, by throwing down those barricades of material warfare, and of international intercourse, as also the numerous lines of customs and customs-officers, which previously belted every large and petty State in Germany, the removal of which has laid open an uninterrupted intercourse from the frontiers of France and Belgium to those of Austria and Russia, and from the Alps to the Baltic.

"But it is not less in its political than in its commercial features, that the German Union has become a subject of interest to England. By opening to the subjects of its component States a free intercourse with each other, an intercourse which before that time had been vexed and restricted by numerous petty annoyances and fiscal objections, it created for German manufacturers a market of some 27,000,000 consumers, who had before that time been chiefly supplied by the foreigner, and it gave an impetus to national industry, which, from small beginnings, has increased until it has become a formidable rival to the trade of this country [England], and which in many instances it has succeeded in supplanting completely."

by the different German governments. The *material* welfare of the nation was the *mezzo termine* on which princes and people could meet; political economy became the favorite study of Germany, and, we may say, of the rest of Europe.

The Prussian Tariff-League was at first but an experiment; but it proved so completely successful, that none of the parties thought of separation, after the term of probation had expired. The liberals of Germany perceived, that it was leading much more directly and quickly towards the much-desired union of the country than any political movement they could plan, and the wiser and graver portion of them became its ablest defenders, because it gave them the hope of effecting that union peaceably, without either a foreign war, or an internal revolution. The princes, on the other hand, saw that the Tariff-League became the lightning-rod, that conducted the political electricity, with which the atmosphere of Germany had been charged for nearly half a century, harmless to the ground. For once, there was effected a union of all classes of society for a common end, — a union, the blessings of which were so direct and palpable, that they were not only felt in the country, but also attracted the attention of the neighbouring States. Belgium, Holland, France, and England commenced, in turn, negotiations with the League; the United States alone contented themselves with sending "a tobacco agent," to ascertain whether the different States of the League could not be prevailed on to admit that American staple, and that alone, on better terms.

In the mean while, the Tariff-League has increased so far as to comprise nearly twenty-six millions of people (for we take it for granted, that Prussia, now that her negotiations with Russia have completely failed, will join the League also in behalf of her *eastern* provinces, bordering on the Baltic); and, although now appearing stationary, it is preparing for a still farther expansion toward the shores of the German Ocean. The name of "Prussian" has been changed to that of the "German" Tariff-League (*Deutscher Zoll-Verein*), and it is now clearly ascertained, that its power and influence are such as to enable it, whenever it shall become necessary, to *force* the remaining German States, who have thus far stood aloof, into the union. Brunswick, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort on the

Main were in this manner obliged to enter it; and the States bordering on the ocean, Oldenburg, Hanover, and the Hanse Towns, became seriously concerned for their commercial independence.

Hanover concluded a separate treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States in 1839. The Hanse Towns, as early as 1827, had, collectively and separately, concluded a reciprocity treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States, which expired in 1839, and has *not* been renewed, but merely suffered to continue; the terms of the treaty specifying, that a year's notice must be given by either party to the other, in case of a disposition to alter or abolish it. The Hanoverian treaty is of no use whatever to this country, except that American vessels, sailing up the Elbe and Weser to Hamburg and Bremen respectively, might come into collision with the authorities of that kingdom, which claims the sovereignty over those rivers, so far as they are within the body of the State. Hanover has no trade with the United States, and the Hanoverian flag is never displayed in our ports; but it is by far the greatest smuggling place of Germany; and the most important *dépôt* of English manufactures. British goods are imported into Hanover for the express purpose of being smuggled into all the States of the League. It is an agricultural country, and its connexion with Great Britain, since the accession of the Elector to the throne of England, has kept it so; but its produce, being of the same kind as that of our Middle and Western States, furnishes no medium of trade or exchange with America. Of the treaty of the United States with the Hanse Towns we shall speak presently; but to understand and appreciate it, it is necessary first to comprehend the position of the Hanse Towns in regard to Germany.

Since the Peace of Westphalia, Germany has been divided into a number of petty States, which, unprotected by a great central power, and equally unable to maintain their independence, were successively obliged to throw themselves into the arms of England, France, or Russia. The Seven Years' War between the Houses of Hapsburg and Brandenburg weakened the influence of Austria as a European power, while the felonious success of Frederic the Great only served to create an *imperium in imperio*, and almost forced the German States to seek alliances with foreign powers. Dur-

ing the wars of the French Revolution, the left bank of the Rhine was added to France, and the Rhenish Confederation, with Bonaparte at its head, completed the ruin of the Empire. During all that time, the northern provinces of Germany suffered less from the invasion than the south, where the princes themselves seemed at first to favor the design of the French conqueror, and which abounds in strategical positions and commands the road to Italy. The people on the sea-coast were naturally desirous of free trade, and, having no important manufactures of their own, saw in the "Continental System," as established by Napoleon, nothing but the destruction of their commerce. They were, therefore, the natural allies of England, and the Hanse Towns made no scruple, on several occasions, to acknowledge England formally as their patron and protector.

The war of 1812 and 1813 revived the nationality of the Germans. It taught them to fight, side by side, for a common cause; but the Congress of Vienna rather opposed than favored this revival. The Act of Confederation, which was hurried through (not before Napoleon had landed from Elba), established Prussia and Austria as European powers, and destroyed, in the same ratio, the political influence of the minor States. It was an act which provided *tant soit peu* for a German confederate army, — a compact for the defence of their common country, which, however, left the regulation of internal affairs to the management of thirty-four princes and four "free towns," Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and Frankfort on the Main, to which the Congress left their liberty, as Prince Metternich is said to have expressed it, "merely to show, by a practical example, how entirely unfit the Germans were for a free government."

The second peace of Paris was concluded without the mediation of these princes, or these free cities. The minor States of Germany, the Hanse Towns, and the city of Frankfort on the Main were, by this act, ruled out of the list of political powers, and served, from that moment, only to increase the strength and influence of Prussia and Austria. At the German Diet, the minor States were, indeed, represented (the three Hanse Towns and the free city of Frankfort having together *one* vote), but the restored Bourbons did not conclude peace with the *German Confederation;* they negotiated for that purpose with the Plenipotentiaries of Aus-

tria and Prussia. Neither had the German Confederation, by the very act which gave it existence, acquired the power to declare war or conclude peace. The confederation, therefore, was a mere family compact ; because Austria and Prussia, united, had the power of enforcing the obedience of the other less considerable members, by the influence which they exerted as European states.

As long as the elder line of Bourbons governed in France, the Austrian-French alliance, which had been forced upon Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna as a *pis aller*, was sufficient to secure to Germany that repose which acted so beneficially on her industry, and was so entirely consonant with the general characteristics of her people. "Germany is sleeping," said Heine, the expatriated German author ; and Menzel, the historian, answered, "A very healthy and refreshing sleep." But the year 1830 ushered a new order of things into existence. The increased dangers of war called for a stronger organization, and made the consolidation of the different German States not only desirable, but absolutely necessary. The eyes of the people naturally turned toward Prussia. The possession of the Rhenish provinces makes Prussia the vanguard of Germany ; while Austria, from her eastern position, and the necessity of defending Italy, was less calculated, at that moment, to inspire the Germans with confidence.

During the excitement which continued from 1830 to 1840, the Prussian Tariff-League gained so much popularity and strength, that the States composing it, who, according to the original stipulation had reserved for themselves the right to withdraw from it, at the termination of a certain period, gave up all thoughts of separation, and the people themselves became accustomed to consider it as the legitimate and ruling power in the country. The League became the third power of Germany, and, in spite of the opposition of orthodox writers, not only a commercial, but a *political* one. In it, the minor States of Germany, who had been neglected in the political confederation, were truly represented, and, what is still more worthy of note, two of the most important factors of civilized life, industry and commerce, entered into that representation. The Tariff-League represented the *tiers état* of the Germans in its mildest and most loyal form, which a natural instinct taught the people to cultivate as the surest means of advancing their most precious interests.

A great accession of strength, through the force of public opinion, was gained by the League in 1840, from the bravado of M. Thiers. The warlike demonstration made by the French premier, on the occasion of the British fleet sailing for Saint Jean d'Acre, raised a storm of indignation in Germany, and especially in the States of the League, bordering on France; where, in addition to the large levy of troops by the government, the peasantry seemed to be ready to take up arms to repel the invaders. The attitude of the Rhenish provinces convinced the French radicals, that they had nothing to hope from the democratic sympathies of the Germans; while, at the same time, it convinced Prussia and Austria, that they had found the true talisman for securing the affection of the people. The fear of war subsided with the accession of the Guizot ministry; but the political impulse Germany had received awakened too many latent sympathies not to be felt in its remotest consequences. From that time, Prussia, which had heretofore been the soul of the League, lost her controlling influence; the union, as we remarked above, was baptized "the *German* League," and as such, was advocated by nearly all the available talent of the country. The press, with the Augsburg Gazette for its leader, urged the union of all the German States into one great commercial and manufacturing league, and denounced, in no equivocal terms, those who, from selfish motives, or from taking a narrow, circumscribed view of their immediate interests, still refused to join the already powerful confederacy. From reproaches, they proceeded to threats of coercion, and from the advocacy of a mere union of customs, to that of an independent national policy. Germany was to have a national commerce, a national industry, a national flag, and a national navy. Even colonies were thought of; and, for this purpose, negotiations were set on foot with the English South-Sea Company for the acquisition of the Chatham Islands. This project failed, however, in consequence of Sir Robert Peel's refusing to cede the sovereignty of the Islands; but the others, to use a well known American phrase, "are still in a successful course of experiment."

What the States of the League wanted, and still want, is the sea coast,—not so much that of the Baltic, as of the German Ocean. On this ocean lie the two greater German commercial cities, Hamburg and Bremen. An at-

tempt was made to persuade or compel these cities to join the League ; but as the small territories of these Hanse Towns are completely enclosed by the States of Oldenburg and Hanover, and as Oldenburg is itself surrounded by Hanover, the attempt was first made to induce the latter State to join it ; because, in that case, the Hanse Towns would be so completely surrounded by the custom-houses of the League, and their commerce subjected to such onerous exactions, that they would be obliged to sue for admission, on such terms as the League might propose, in order to prevent the trade of Germany from following exclusively the course of the Rhine or the Danube, and thereby making the Dutch city of Rotterdam, and the French town of Havre, the principal German ports of entry.

Such, then, is the precarious position of the Hanse Towns. They have not, as we have shown, a particle of political sovereignty, independent of the Germanic Confederation, or rather of Prussia and Austria, and their commercial liberty is threatened by the League of Customs. And yet, these cities, with a population not amounting jointly to that of New York or Philadelphia, have concluded a treaty of commerce and navigation with this country, *on principles of perfect reciprocity*, — that is, *reciprocity on one side.*

The United States, on treating with the Hanse Towns, did not take into consideration the Tariff-League, which, at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, was in its infancy, and probably imagined, that, by obtaining the trade of the most important seaports of Germany, the trade of the whole country was permanently secured. The government of this country did not consider, that Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck were not *German ports of entry ;* that these towns were only bound to respect the decrees of the Germanic Confederation so far as the general politics of Germany were concerned, and to furnish, in case of an emergency, their quota of troops ; but that their municipal regulations were widely different from those of the other German States ; and that, as far as their foreign commerce is concerned, an article which is admitted at a mere nominal rate of duty into Bremen or Hamburg, may still be contraband at a distance of five miles from the gates of either of these cities. A treaty of reciprocity presupposes, that one nation gives to the other an *equivalent* for the favors granted it ; but in the

case of the United States and the Hanse Towns, no such equivalent is even contemplated. The Hanse Towns have no right to treat for the States of the League, and, *at home*, disclaim all and every connexion with them ; though, in their treaties with foreign countries, they always introduce a clause "favorable to the *manufactures* of the States of the Confederation." Without this clause, which enables them to make an *outward freight*, their vessels, notwithstanding their cheap construction and navigation, would not be able to compete with those of the United States, and Germany proper would not be cut off from all direct intercourse with America. As it is, ship-building being much less expensive, and seamen's wages less by one third, than in the United States, the ships of the Hanse Towns can carry our produce at a less rate than our own vessels, which, in three cases out of four, are obliged to return from those ports in ballast. But we are afraid we have already anticipated our conclusions.

We have thus far spoken only of the *moral* effects of the League on Germany, principally to show that it is not likely to be ephemeral. The League is based on the necessities of the country. It is an easy, effectual, and cheap method of creating a revenue ; and it is an efficient conductor of the democratic electricity, by supplying what we venture to call "the ideal wants" of the people, and directing that powerful fluid into a legitimate channel. But in proportion as the League promises to be permanent, it becomes the duty of other governments not to suffer themselves to be entangled with treaties with those German States, which, from their disconnexion with it, are unable to offer an equivalent for the concessions made to them, or whose position is such, that they may, at any time, be absorbed by the League. The Hanse Towns, when urged to join the association, had repeatedly answered, that, as single towns, foreign nations — thereby especially alluding to the United States — have made such concessions to them as all Germany would not have been able to obtain. The Hanse Towns, it was argued, are small, and on that account their acts are not so easily observed as the acts of a great nation. The interest of England is naturally concerned in maintaining this separate relation of the Hanse Towns, which serve as *dépôts* for her manufactures. A late number of the London Times

actually went so far as to speak of the city of Hamburg as a British ally. But the Germans in the interior — we mean the twenty-six millions who are about to form the League — have a very different opinion on the subject. We here quote from the writer in the German Quarterly.

"Germany possesses all the requisites of an independent, national, commercial, and manufacturing policy; and would, united, certainly be able to secure a proper respect for a common German flag. The considerations now shown to the Hanse Towns are considerations not for *them* alone, but for Germany, to which they belong, — for the Germanic Confederation, which protects them. In all their treaties with foreign powers, the Hanse Towns have, with much tact, remembered the States of the German Confederation, and claimed for their own ships, and the produce of the latter, the terms of the most favored nations. Had the Hanse Towns claimed those terms on their own account, — in their real capacity, as mere carriers and brokers between Germany and the transatlantic States, — it is more than probable, that these terms would not have been granted to them."

And in urging a direct trade and treaty between the States of the German Tariff-League and the United States of America, he says:

"Germany has, unlike all other commercial nations, this peculiarity in common with the United States, that neither of them has colonies commanding its especial consideration and protection in the conclusion of international treaties. Both are free to give to their commerce and to their industry that direction which appears to be best calculated to advance the prosperity of their respective citizens. Neither of them need restrict its commerce or manufactures, to reconcile the interests of distant colonies, or to adapt the condition of colonies to the mother country. This is a great advantage, which Germany will possess, in all future negotiations, over England, France, Holland, Spain, or Portugal, and which must not be overlooked in treating, at some future day, with the United States of America."

"But," continues the writer, "although the United States possess no colonies, they produce a variety of colonial articles, which circumstance makes them not only, in a great measure, independent of European colonies, but also furnishes them with the means of exchanging their produce for European manufactures. We speak here of their enormous production of cotton and tobacco, to which may be added, in the extreme South, that

of rice, sugar, and indigo. The crop of cotton amounts yearly, on an average, to more than two millions of bales, and is greater than the whole cotton production of all other countries of the globe taken together. It gives to the Americans a commercial capital of eighty millions of dollars ; and this enormous product might, under favorable circumstances, be increased to double the amount. Until now, the quantity of cotton imported into Germany, directly from the United States, is certainly small ; because Germany imports annually sixty million pounds of twist from England ; but thanks to German enterprise and the perseverance of German manufacturers, there is sufficient reason to believe, that this species of English carrying-trade, by which Germany not only loses the value of the labor of spinning, but also a proportionate share of the direct trade with America, will soon cease, through the protection which the Tariff-League will grant to the German spinners,* and make room for a direct intercourse between the German manufacturer and the American producer."

The writer then shows the folly committed by the German States in taxing, to so great an extent, American tobacco, and in attempting to produce it at home. Twenty-five thousand hogsheads of tobacco are, on an average, brought annually to Bremen, and thence sold, principally to Germany. Two or three times that quantity might be consumed, and a corresponding quantity of German manufactures taken in exchange by America, if the different German governments would not make a monopoly of the tobacco trade, and if the greater part of the profits of this trade did not remain exclusively in the Hanse Towns. The Hanse merchants naturally take a commission from the producer and the consumer, — from the United States and from Germany, — and are thus doubly paid for acting as brokers between them. The argument of the writer in the Quarterly is unquestionably correct. Let any city, favorably situated for commerce, be made a *dépôt* for merchandise, let its citizens purchase whatever and wherever they please, and sell, in the same manner, to any people who are willing to purchase of them, and goods will maintain prices, or be bought and sold cheaper than in other places, as it may suit

* This prediction has since been verified by the levying of an additional duty on English twists.

the purpose of the merchants. When Holland was the grain magazine of Europe, that most important article was sold cheaper in Amsterdam than where it grew, and was abundant in every part of the republic, when famine ravaged the adjacent provinces of Germany and France. A league of isolated towns is still better for commercial purposes. Their career not being checked by considerations of national policy, and their expenses of government being comparatively small, they are, as regards commerce, on a far better footing than the inhabitants of a commercial city, subject to the regulations of a great country. Under the doctrine of free trade and international reciprocity, the isolated town possesses greater advantages than the largest emporium of the largest empire.

The writer in the German Quarterly then discusses at length the propriety of concluding a treaty of commerce and navigation between the League and the United States, and thereby trading directly with America, and protecting the States of Germany from the ruinous manufacturing competition of England. It is in vain, he argues, to expect reciprocity from England, at least, so far as Germany is concerned. The United States, from their enormous extent and large consumption of British manufactures, stand a far better chance ; though even they have to give up the idea of reciprocity, as far as navigation is concerned. Sir Robert Peel's sliding scale shows it. The Canadian wheat is admitted at such rates, that the German wheat-growers cannot compete with it in price, while the Eastern States of the Union are prevented from carrying it by sea to the Canadian provinces. England, it is very clear, will only make such concessions as will suit her purposes. Had she made the same proposition to the German agriculturists twelve years ago, which she is now offering them, she might have checked, for a while at least, the progress of manufactures in Germany ; but now, says the writer in the German Quarterly (and he is powerfully supported by Nebenius, Counsellor of State and former Secretary of State of the Grand Duchy of Baden*), the German League knows its

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* *Der Deutsche Zoll-Verein, sein System und seine Zukunft, von Fr. Nebenius*, 1843. (The German Tariff-League, its System and its Prospects, by Fr. Nebenius.)

importance, and will be able to guard against the English doctrines of free trade. Germany is not in a position similar to that of the United States. Her soil and her productions are limited. She is, therefore, obliged to create a manufacturing power, as a new means of national wealth and revenue. Free trade between England and Germany would ruin these manufactures, and it will therefore be necessary to increase the duty on English twists and iron, in proportion as the British Corn Laws are modified, and perhaps to prohibit them entirely, in case England should abolish these laws altogether. These notions, it may be well to add, are systematically defended in the "Journal of the German Tariff-League," a weekly periodical published at Stuttgart, and edited by Professor List, American Consul to Wurtemberg, whose late work on "The National System of Political Economy, International Commerce, and Commercial Polity," apart from the theory it strives to establish, is remarkable as an exponent of popular feeling, and as a proof of the increased attention paid in Germany to a department of knowledge, which, heretofore, had been confined exclusively to the Universities. It furnishes conclusive evidence, that the public mind is strongly excited by these topics, and corroborates what we stated above; that the League is fast becoming the representative of the *tiers état* of Germany.

In the opinion of the writer in the German Quarterly, the United States present to all commercial nations, but especially to Germany, four incalculable advantages; namely, first, an extensive territory, with but few or no restrictions on the commerce of foreigners; secondly, a steadily growing population, with a regularly increasing consumption; thirdly, a vast amount of produce for exportation; and, fourthly, the absence of colonies, a circumstance which tends to facilitate all direct intercourse with foreign nations. He then speaks of the laudable efforts already made by the late American tobacco-agent in Germany, toward opening a more direct intercourse between the States of the League and the United States; which efforts, in his opinion, must fail, so long as America is willing to treat with one or more detached towns; and at last, he indirectly answers the letter of Baron Roenne, the late Prussian Minister, to Mr. Jenifer,

which appeared in the National Intelligencer of February 4th, 1842, in which the renewal of the treaty with the Hanse Towns was strongly urged on the consideration of our federal government. The writer concludes his paper in these terms, the extreme moderation of which was probably dictated by the high official standing of the party, as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the first power of the League, or, perhaps, *enforced* by the censor.

"We refrain from all criticism on the style and reasoning, or on the motives which may have induced the Royal Prussian Minister in Washington to address such a letter to one who was then a member of Congress, as if for publication. We might have summed up its whole contents in a few words; but we considered such a document as by far too important not to be placed *in extenso* before our readers. The most important consequence to us is the proof, which it furnishes, of the consideration bestowed in a high place on the growing importance of the German trade to the United States, and its influence on the material interests of the Tariff-League. That the same subject may admit of many different views and theories is natural. The duty of the press consists in submitting both theories and motives to the appellate jurisdiction of the public, before they are ultimately disposed of by the highest tribunal of the land. We do not object to the *data* furnished by the Prussian minister. They are mainly our own, or agree with the facts alleged by ourselves; but they appear to us to justify an entirely different conclusion from the one which the minister has drawn from them. Baron Roenne acknowledges, too, the advantages of a direct trade between Germany and the United States; the only question, therefore, is this: Does the direct trade consist in two or three cities enjoying the exclusive privilege of exchanging the products of two of the largest countries on the globe; or rather, in permitting all the German States, without distinction, to participate in this exchange, in the same manner as all the States of the Union participate equally in the commerce of America? We put this question as Southern Germans, without undervaluing the generosity of the greatest Northern power (Prussia), manifested in the above document. Baron Roenne praises the merchants of the Hanse Towns justly, while, at the same time, he reminds them of the fact, that, separated from Germany, they are powerless. He tells even the Americans, that the root of the Hanse Towns is in Germany, and that the concessions made to them ought to be made *in consideration of the extent and power of Germany*, to which they belong. This generosity is, perhaps, intended to

put the obstinate opponents of the League in the Hanse Towns to the blush."

To understand fully the position which Prussia occupies in reference to the Tariff-League and to this country, and the corresponding diversity of feeling between the North and South of Germany, we must yet allude to the material changes which the League has produced in the condition of the German States. The most important of them is the increased demand for labor, and the consequently higher price of it,—in other words, the amelioration of the condition of the laboring classes. No sooner was the League in operation, than the free exchange of commodities between the States increased the commerce, and with it the manufactures, of Germany. Cotton manufactories and iron founderies sprang up in various parts of the country, and the nobles and mediatized princes themselves took part in the national enterprise. But in one respect, Prussia and all the Northern States of Germany were disappointed.

It was thought, that the Southern States, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and others, whose soil is fertile and whose population is principally agricultural, would become consumers of Northern manufactures in exchange for their own staples, wine, cattle, and grain. In this, however, they were mistaken. The impulse communicated to the domestic industry of Germany was so great, as to induce the Southern provinces themselves to establish manufactories, — some of them with a capital of half a million, and even a million, of dollars, — which not only answered the purpose of immediate consumption, but furnished the basis of an active commerce with the other States. Taxes being generally less, provisions cheaper, and water-power in greater abundance in the Southern provinces, the people of the South required but little stimulus to develope their manufacturing industry ; and besides, they had no difficulty in procuring workmen, as the neighbouring French province of Alsace, which teems with cotton manufactories, furnished any required number on the most reasonable terms. In this manner, it was soon ascertained, the advantages of the League turned greatly in favor of the Southern States, which, for this very reason, contributed least to the common revenue raised by customs, and divided annually, in proportion to their respective population, among the different States.

One of the chief sources of revenue in all countries is the duty on sugar and coffee. In the North of Germany, the consumption of these colonial articles, as also that of tea, is very great ; while, in the Southern provinces, tea and coffee are luxuries, only known to the higher classes. In Bavaria, beer, in Wurtemberg, Baden, and the Rhenish provinces, wine, takes the place of these beverages, so that the duty on those articles is in a far greater ratio borne by the North, while it proves equally a source of revenue to the Southern provinces, where it partly supersedes the necessity of direct taxation. It is computed, that Prussia contributes, in this manner, annually, between one and one and a half millions of Prussian dollars towards the expenses of the Southern governments, which also maintain comparatively small armies ; while Prussia, as a European power, based on its military development, maintains a proportionably larger army than either England, France, or Russia. The Tariff-League, therefore, so far as mere pecuniary advantages are concerned, is a *loss* to Prussia, and a signal advantage to the Southern States.

This position of the League accounts for the fact, that the Southern States of Germany have, of late, been most clamorous for its extension, and most reproachful in their language towards the States of the North, especially the Hanse Towns, which are still keeping up their separate organization. The Southern manufacturers soon discovered, that they were not only protected by the tariff, but also by the greater cheapness of all the necessaries of life ; and, in addition to this, by the great distance from the seaports ; because, as far as the home market is concerned, the cost of freight is in their favor. Nothing, therefore, was more natural, than that the manufacturing interests of the Southern States should be strongly represented in the Chambers, and that the Southern princes themselves should thereby be forced specially to protect them. The princes who had refused so many supplications for the liberty of the press, the trial by jury, and other liberal measures, could acquire popularity by the promotion of the physical welfare of the people, and thereby more effectually keep all other questions in abeyance.

The Southern States of Germany, therefore, who at first were the greatest antagonists of the League, became now its most ardent supporters, and urged the States of Hanover,

Oldenburg, and the Hanse Towns to join it, so as to enable Germany to adopt some general commercial policy, and to extend her commerce and manufactures beyond the sea. But Prussia, who had given the first impulse to the League, was not willing to extend its blessings, without a consideration, to any other than the States bordering on the North Sea. Her own seaports, Schwineminde and Königsberg, were on the Baltic, and must become worthless for Germany, if Hamburg, Bremen, Stade, and Embden should join the union of customs. The Northeastern provinces of Prussia, moreover, never depended much on the trade with Germany. Their commerce was with the Northern States, Sweden, Denmark, and principally Russia. Prussia, therefore, was apprehensive lest the States of the League should demand concessions in that quarter, which it would not be for the interest of those provinces to grant, or which would cause reprisals on the part of Russia. The latter country has made the most strenuous efforts to introduce and encourage domestic manufactures, in which the first nobles of the Empire are now most actively engaged. The Russian tariff is almost prohibitory, many articles, particularly those of German manufacture, being entirely excluded. The heaviest penalties are inflicted on the smugglers, who are without ceremony banished to Siberia ; and the carrying-trade, formerly entirely in the hands of the Northern Germans, is, by the late Russian ukases, almost annihilated. Great efforts were made by Prussia to obtain a change in this part of the policy of her northern neighbour ; but in vain. Even the visit of the King of Prussia to England did not terrify the Emperor of Russia, who pursued his policy with a steady hand, unmindful of the League, the christening of the Prince of Wales, and the Cabinet of Berlin. Shortly after the return of the King of Prussia from England, he went to St. Petersburg ; but his visit to the Imperial family, owing to unforeseen circumstances, which threatened to become serious, and which do not here admit of an *éclaircissement*, was entirely unsuccessful, and he was obliged precipitately to return, without having made the least progress in the contemplated negotiations for a treaty. All subsequent attempts to effect the same object failed ; and yet Prussia has to this moment abstained from proposing retaliatory measures to the League.

The same vacillating policy was pursued by Prussia toward England and Belgium. With the latter country a treaty of commerce and navigation was at one time in serious contemplation, while the example of the Duchy of Luxembourg seemed to justify the hope, that Holland itself would join the League. While, however, the negotiations were pending, and while Prussia was coquetting with England and Russia, the treaty between France and Belgium was concluded, which, very fortunately for the manufacturers of Germany, put at rest all further notions of extending the League in that quarter.

Prussia has since been oscillating again between England and Russia, but seeing no prospect of an advantageous arrangement with Russia, inclines now in favor of England. The first step in that direction was the above-mentioned letter, written by Baron Roenne, minister resident from Prussia, in Washington, to Mr. Jenifer. In that letter, Baron Roenne labored hard to prove, that the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Hanse Towns operates equally both ways, and that what the Americans lose in the freight they gain in the advanced prices on their staples. The Baron also maintains, that the decrease in the American trade with those towns is a natural consequence of the peace, and threatens the United States, in case they should refuse to renew the treaty, with differential duties to be levied by the League on American produce. It is this letter, as we remarked above, which the writer in the German Quarterly exposes, as an attempt on the part of Prussia rather to check than to extend the League, contrary to the interests of the Southern States and the Rhenish provinces. The Hanse Towns are *dépôts* of English manufactures, and, so long as they remain as they are, British goods will be sure of finding a market in Germany. In the same manner, as long as the American treaty with the Hanse Towns lasts, there is no possibility of the States of the League having any direct intercourse with the United States; so that neither the merchants nor the manufacturers of the League desire the continuance of that treaty.

In like manner, the manufacturers of the League, as we before remarked, have insisted on an additional duty on English twists and iron; but the *opposition of Prussia* to this salutary measure has, until lately, frustrated their design.

The additional duty on British goods, the manufacturers argue, would not only protect German industry, but would enable Germany to obtain the raw material directly from America. These views are strongly pressed by the Southern writers, but are equally strenuously opposed by Prussia, until, at last, the views of that power have become an object of suspicion with the Southern States. Austria has taken advantage of the schism, and, if we mistake not, with some success.

The threat of a differential duty, made use of in Baron Roenne's letter, is preposterous. Goods and produce are imported into Germany, not only through the Hanse Towns, but also through Holland, France, and Austria by the way of Trieste. How could the American staples be recognized, when coming from either of those countries? What would the States of the League gain by levying an additional duty on American cotton, which they must have, and which they cannot afford purchasing at a higher rate without standing in the light of their own manufactures?

Again; the Hanse Towns cannot, as mere brokers and carriers, levy an additional duty on American staples, which would only tax their own commerce for no purpose in the world. The rate of duty on all foreign goods and produce without distinction is, by the *municipal law* of Bremen, fixed at one third of one *per cent. ad valorem*, and this rate has not been altered in reference to goods or produce imported from Spain or her colonies, although the Spaniards have levied a differential duty of nine *per cent. ad valorem* on the goods imported in the vessels of the Hanse Towns. It is the consumer who pays the duty; and, as the Hanse merchants are mere buyers and sellers, they cannot levy additional duties, without destroying, in the same ratio, their commercial prosperity. If Bremen levy an additional duty on American tobacco, that article will be imported into Amsterdam or Rotterdam for the German market, and it will be Bremen, and not the United States, which will suffer from the measure. But to return to Austria.

The influence which Prussia had gained over the States of Germany, and especially those of the South, had justly excited the jealousy of Austria, which, until then, had been considered as the protector of those provinces, partly from position, and partly from historical associations. Austria had expressed a wish to join the League, but was refused, under

the pretext that she had not yet a uniform tariff within her own provinces, and that it would be useless for the League to treat with her German provinces only, independently of Hungary, Gallicia, and Italy. This latter declaration was any thing but gratifying to the Southern States of the League, who had hoped, by the annexation of Austria, to have the Levant trade and the Mediterranean opened to them, and who, in the mutual jealousy of Austria and Prussia, would have found an additional safeguard for their own independence. The advocates of the union of Germany, from political motives, were also much disappointed in seeing the most powerful State excluded ; while Austria herself, far from being discouraged by this first refusal, has since used every laudable effort, not only to put her commercial and manufacturing policy in that state which will render it the interest of the League to propose terms of accommodation, but also to make an amelioration in the condition of her provinces, and introduce into them that degree of harmony, which will enable her to make a treaty for all. In the mean while, no part of Germany is provided with better means of communication ; the system of Austrian rail-roads, which will connect Leipsic and Berlin with Vienna, the Danube, and the Adriatic Gulf, being probably the most comprehensive of any on the continent of Europe. When the Polish, Italian, German, Bohemian, and Hungarian rail-roads shall be completed, Austria will present such inducements to the German States to unite with her in the League, that the counter efforts of Prussia, if such should still be made, would necessarily be unavailing.

As to Hanover, she has lately positively declined to join the League, the King having, at the same time, pledged his oath of allegiance to the British crown, as a peer of the realm. The claims of the blind crown prince, however, who, by the letter of the constitution, is incapable of inheriting the crown, are of so slender a nature, that it can hardly be doubted, that he will try to strengthen them by seeking an alliance with the League. In this case, the Hanse Towns, as we have shown above, must necessarily follow ; so that the time may not be distant, when all Germany will be united, at least commercially, into one nation.

We are fully aware, that such a union is still looked upon as chimerical by those whose interest it is to prevent it ; but

the gravitation of Germany is that way; the manufacturing and commercial policy of the country demand it; public opinion, with a few interested exceptions, has pronounced itself strongly in its favor; and the political condition of the country is such, that, without union, it is idle to suppose, that Germany will ever have a national existence, or be able to maintain even the *status quo*. With powerful empires to the east and west of her, nothing but union can maintain the integrity of her provinces, or afford protection to her industry, her commerce, and her independence. The truth of these remarks has at no time been felt more strongly in Germany than at this moment, when it is reiterated in a hundred journals, until it has become familiar to the most ordinary capacity; and what a whole nation wills is seldom, for any length of time, refused by her rulers. There may be objections to the union now, but time will overcome them; especially when some publicists, of more imagination than experience, who would give that union a particular political complexion, shall have perceived the errors of their way, and the impracticability of those institutions which they press with so much enthusiasm and so little discretion on a people who are, by habit, education, and temper, entirely unfitted for them. These fanatics have been in the habit of despairing of their country, whenever the sober realities of life dissipated their *beau idéal* of government; and yet, in the long catalogue of improvements which have taken place in Germany since the last war, not one can be traced to their agency. The political and social development of Germany is necessarily a slow one, and it is fortunate for her that it is so. A nation, whose history extends back for two thousand years, cannot easily lend herself to a new experiment, or change at once her domestic policy. That a most important change *has* taken place, no one can doubt; and the United States will do well to watch it, so as to be ready for action whenever the extension of the Tariff-League shall have rendered a direct intercourse between Germany and America possible. The former country, in that case, will be more ready to treat with the United States than with any other nation; and the struggle for commercial and manufacturing independence of Great Britain, which has lately manifested itself at the Congress of the League, at Stuttgart, properly nursed by "The Journal of the League," will be no unimportant

auxiliary in the negotiations commenced for that purpose. A treaty with the United States would be popular throughout Germany ; that with England was assailed by the whole German press, and was consequently abandoned.

Art. IV. — 1. *Geschichte der Poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen, von* G. G. Gervinus. Zweite umgearbeitete Ausgabe. Drei Bände. Leipzig : Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1840–2. (*A History of the (Early) Poetical Literature of the Germans.* By G. G. Gervinus. Second revised Edition. Three Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1606.)

2. *Neuere Geschichte der Poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen, von* G. G. Gervinus. Zwei Bände. Leipzig : Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1840–2. (*A History of the Modern Poetical Literature of the Germans.* By G. G. Gervinus. Two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1379.)

In these five large octavos is contained the history of the poetical literature of Germany, from the time of the ancient bards mentioned by Tacitus, down to the death of Goethe. The subject is a great one. It comprises whatever the Muse has sung, during a period of more than a thousand years, in that broad land which lies between the Rhine and the Vistula, the Danube and the Baltic, — the songs of the bards of heathen antiquity, the Christian poesy of knight, monk, and burgher in the middle ages, and the immortal productions of the great masters of modern verse.

To the accomplishment of his task the author has brought no ordinary qualifications. He exhibits the extensive and profound erudition, the historical faculty of bringing past and remote states of society near, and projecting the present into the distance, and the philosophical insight into the distinguishing features of individuals, communities, and epochs, which so favorably characterize the recent historiography of the Germans. He has evidently studied not only the poetry of Germany, but that of the other contemporary European, not to add Asiatic, nations ; and has made himself acquainted

with the progress of the kindred arts, and the other departments of letters. No parade, however, is made of his learning ; the results of investigation are given, not the processes. Elaborate in its style without being pedantic, rich in significant facts and instructive principles, and free from the details of minute criticism, the work of Gervinus has a higher artistic merit than is usually found in the productions of his countrymen.

We should do our author little honor by instituting a comparison between his labors and those of his predecessors in this department of literary effort. Less brilliant, indeed, than the author of "German Literature," he is, however, less prejudiced and less egotistical ; is sounder in principle, more profoundly learned, and more classical in taste. He has written a purely historical, and not, like those who preceded him, an æsthetical work ; he has also avoided the common fault of overrating the early poetry of the Germans, in comparison with that of recent times. He has contemplated the progress of poetry from a new point of view, showing what part his countrymen have taken in restoring the pure forms and unconscious spirit of those early days, when Homer, Pindar, and Sophocles sang from the pure love of song, and before the prevalence of philosophy throughout Greece, by developing the reflective powers of the national mind, had infused the sentiments of the schools into the measures of poesy.

In attempting to give our readers some account of this elaborate work, we shall follow quite closely in the track of the author, expressing his opinions rather than our own, and adopting even his language and illustrations when it suits our purpose, though with such modifications that it may not be proper to mark the passage as an extract.

The earliest German ballads have been lost ; but there is sufficient reason for believing, that the infancy of this, as of every other nation, — including even the degraded tribes of Africa and the rude natives of Kamtschatka, — was delighted and instructed by songs. Tacitus alludes to old ballads, in which the earth-born Tuisco, and Mannus, his son, were celebrated as the founders of the German race ; and makes mention of the *barritus*, or discordant chant accompanied by the clashing together of many bucklers, which inflamed the souls of the warriors on the eve of battle. The bards re-

corded in song all public transactions, related in succession the names of their kings, and sang the praises of heroes like Hercules and Arminius. The gift of song does not appear, however, to have been confined to any distinct class of persons, but to have been enjoyed by the people at large. If there were wandering minstrels, who gained a livelihood by the use of the lyre, they were probably not numerous, and their vocation was held in but little esteem. Unlike the Grecian, the German warriors all joined in the battle chant and pæan. No priestly order, like the Druids of Gaul, taught in hymns the fables of their mythology ; but, as in modern times, the whole people were the guardians of poetry and song, always more universally popular in this than in any other nation of modern Europe.

The poetry of the German bards can bear no comparison with that of the early Greeks. No song of Sirens was ever heard by the rude voyagers of the Suevian Sea. No Orpheus of the North ever softened the ferocity of Teutonic boars and bears, or drew after him the rocks and trees of the Hercynian forest. Nor could the Germans, situated in a temperate clime, and amid natural scenery of a mild and simple character, have breathed into their early poetry the fiery passions of the Arabians, inhabiting the burning sands of the desert, or the sublime conceptions of the Scandinavians, surrounded by their tempestuous seas, widely-spread snow-plains, and rugged mountains. In this central region, early fable and mythology received more of a historical and humane character ; while, during the endless nights of the North, the imagination peopled the darkness with gigantic and superhuman shapes, and beneath the resplendent skies of the South, the fancy revelled in fictions the most fantastic and gorgeous. The life of the German being one of rapine and war, his songs were imbued with the spirit of revenge and daring, with the love of the ruder virtues, and the veneration of supernatural divinities, with praises of the steed, the bow, the shield, and the spear. War, in fact, was the burden of song in the heroic age, as love afterwards was in that of chivalry.

The regular growth of the early song and tradition of the Germans was checked by their numerous migrations, and their prolonged wars with the Roman Empire. Movements so stupendous must have absorbed all the interests

and energies of the barbarian tribes who took part in them. The foundations of society were broken up, whole nations changed their dwelling-places, ancient tribes were dissolved and new ones created, and the languages, laws, and usages of the people were either greatly modified or entirely destroyed. Amid this wild confusion of marching nations, the sweet voices of the ancient bards could no longer be heard. Tribes passed away whose exploits were never chronicled ; heroes lived and died, unsung ; and the names of few chieftains, except those of Attila and Theodoric, were rescued from unmerited oblivion by the lyre.

With the introduction of Christianity, the heathen bards, who had celebrated the exploits of Hermann and Velida, of Attila and Theodoric, gave place to the ecclesiastical poets, who reduced to verse the legends of the saints and the narratives of the New Testament. They used not the vernacular language of Germany, but the Latin tongue of the more enlightened South ; and, instead of the alliteration of the bardic songs, introduced the rhyme of modern poetry. The love of letters was confined to the clerical order, even down to the expiration of the Frankish dynasty ; but as the cloister was more serviceable in preserving the treasures of classic learning, and in promoting those abstract studies which require seclusion from the disturbing influences of society, than in the cultivation of the art of poetry, which is best learned in the midst of men and the stirring events of real life, we find at the present day not so much poetical, as linguistic merit in these effusions of the sacerdotal muse. It should be added, however, that the Æsopic fables of those times, particularly the "Reinhart Fuchs," are not destitute of poetical merit.

The next great event which materially influenced the literature of Germany was the beginning of the Crusades. This great struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity, together with the extinction of the Celtic nations, and the discovery both of the New World and the passage by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, brought to a close the dominion of barbarian heroism and classic culture over Europe, and ushered in the reign of Christian sentiment and modern ideas. The knowledge of foreign life and literature, introduced among the Germans by intercourse with the inhabitants of distant countries, elevated the character of the

clerical order, placed the lyre in the hands of some of the most famous heroes of the Crusades at the same time with the sword, and at length wrested from the priesthood the privilege they had enjoyed since the introduction of Christianity, of retaining among themselves exclusively the cultivation of letters. The poetical use of the vernacular tongue, instead of the Latin, was restored ; and what was before read from the books of the learned was now heard from the lips of knights and princes.

Christianity, which at a later period exerted a powerful effect in developing the imagination and the understanding of the Germans, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries addressed itself almost exclusively to the cultivation of the feelings, and nourished the most pious and generous sentiments. The steel-clad knight devoted himself to the defence of the faith of Christ, the protection of innocence, the service of woman, the practice of arms, and the cultivation of poesy. He wore the cross as a badge of his faith ; and bore the sword not only as a weapon of death, but as the symbol of his honor. Sentiment was the characteristic of the poetry, as of the life, of the Middle Ages. Love was the common theme of the almost innumerable songs of this period. The knights and nobles of Germany were devoted to warlike pursuits, it is true ; they tilted for fame in the tournament, and courted death in battle ; they lived by the toils of the chase, the spoils of war, and the gains of marauding ; and yet, strange to say, scarcely a war-song is to be found in all the productions of the times. The neighing of the war-horse and the blast of the trumpet are not heard in their poetical effusions ; but rather the cooing of doves, and the melting strains of enamoured birds. The productions of these Minnesingers (*Love-singers*) are, in truth, somewhat effeminate. Grimm called their art womanish. It did not portray, it must be acknowledged, the great and manly qualities of that stirring age. Entirely subjective in its character, it expressed in gentle words only the tender sentiments. It sung almost exclusively the delights and pains of love, the bloom of May and the desolateness of winter, the hopes of youth and the miseries of age, the promise of the future and the regrets of the past.

In manliness of character, as well as in originality of genius, the Minnesingers of Germany were decidedly inferior

to the Troubadours of Provence. The minstrels of the South sang the honors of war, the duties of knighthood, and the loyalty of vassals, as well as the pleasures of love and the praises of the fair. The verse of Castelnau glows with enthusiasm for his rank and order; that of Boniface with hatred of jurists and prelates; that of Figuera with zeal against Rome and the Pope. Religious opinions, philosophy, romance, every thing, in fact, that was in life, appears in the poetry of the Troubadours. They directed public opinion; and, with true lyric feeling, lived in the present, as the epic poet does in the past. Men held in high esteem both their counsel and their praise; they dreaded the indignation expressed both by their lips and their songs. These minstrels entered the lists of love with princes for rivals, and even assailed the throne with political opposition. The comprehensive culture of the Troubadours gave rise to the greatest diversities of poetic talent, and to very marked differences in the value of their productions; but we can produce numerous specimens from the Minnesingers, which it would require a sharp eye and discriminating study to distinguish from each other. Poets of the former class are rich and varied, while the latter are fervent, in sentiment, — the former being delighted with the mingled play of the emotions, while the others are content with the full utterance of a single feeling. The passion of the Troubadours is stronger and wilder, and has none of that German modesty, which presumes not even to mention the name of its beloved in song. Amid much that is frivolous, what is truly noble in them appears to greater advantage; and, when their lays do breathe the spirit of faithful love, one is more convinced of its genuineness than in the Minnesongs of the North, where vows and oaths are too often repeated with conventional heartlessness. Hence it was, that even Dante and Petrarch did not disdain to refresh their genius at the living fountains of the Valencian minstrelsy.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, while the poetry of chivalry was in its highest estate, was discovered the "Lay of the Nibelungen." This is a collection of old heroic songs, which appear to have been originally composed by different individuals, but were afterwards compiled and wrought together by the skill either of Henry von Ofterdingen, or of some one of the minstrels who embellished with the

graces of poetry and music the courts of the Landgraves of Thuringia and Babenberg. The subject of this ancient lay consists of legends respecting the Gothic, Frankish, and Burgundian heroes, who lived in the times of the great Northern migrations ; and is treated with that simplicity of manner, purity of sentiment, and magnanimity of thought, which belong to the heroic age of German literature.

At about the same time, also, was brought to light another poem, or collection of poems, called the " Gudrun," which may be said to be the Odyssey, as the " Lay of the Nibelungen " is the Iliad, of Germany. The origin of this venerable relic is enveloped in the obscurity of antiquity, though portions of it may be traced back to the twelfth century. The scene of the sagas of the " Gudrun " is laid in different countries, in Friesland, Denmark, Zeeland, Ireland, and Normandy ; and both style and matter occasionally exhibit somewhat of a Scandinavian, Danish, or British, as well as a German character. More highly polished, and more perfect in whatever belongs to poetic form, than the " Lay of the Nibelungen," the " Gudrun " occupies a middle position between popular song, and a more artificial style of poetry. Both poems are an ornament to the literature, and an honor to the people of Germany. They are alive with the spirit of those old, heroic times, when barbarian bravery, fidelity, and chastity elicited the admiration even of the civilized Romans. Free from modern effeminacy, if not always from primitive coarseness of sentiment, full of healthy vigor and genuine virtue, these lyrical relics are of a far higher order than the contemporary productions of other European countries, and indicate the early existence, in the Germanic race, of those high poetical and moral qualities, afterwards so illustriously displayed in the Lutheran Reformation and in recent poetry.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century, the poetry of chivalry began to be superseded by that of the trades. Cloyed with the sweet excess of love, the Muse forsook the lofty courts and castles of the Minnesingers, to descend into the noisy workshops of mechanics and tradesmen. The tailor broke the monotonous silence of his calling with divine song, and the cobbler relieved his toil with the delights of poesy. The Meistersingers were a fraternity of poetical artisans, who manufactured songs by rule and measure, as well as

shoes, coats, and houses. Art was taught by them in formal schools ; strict rules of composition were inculcated ; and contests of poetic skill instituted, in which the victor was rewarded with a garland of roses. These poets generally drew their themes and inspiration either from the Bible or the contemporary literature ; and reflected in their writings the asceticism, scholasticism, mysticism, pedantry, and superstition of the times. Compared with the Minnesongs, the poetry of the Meistersingers is inferior in matter, but more perfect in form. The art of the Meisters is plastic, festive, didactic, and satirical ; that of the knights, grave, musical, refined, and either epic or lyrical. The former is the product of the imagination, and aims at entertainment ; the latter, of the understanding, and always inculcates a moral. The one is subjective, — rhyming its own fancies, and idealizing the pursuits of mankind ; the other realistic, — describing the coarser forms of human character, and portraying things as they are. That is the poetry of love ; this, of life.

The prince of the Meistersingers was Hans Sachs of Nuremberg, shoemaker. Born in the latter part of the fifteenth century, he lived in that ancient city at a period when it was the high school of poetry, and the literary metropolis of Germany, — when it was enriched by trade and manufactures, and adorned by the presence of men of the highest genius, and by all the polite arts which at that time embellished life. This hero of German song, though commonly classed with the Meistersingers, in fact, far surpassed them in genius, and brought about as great a reformation in letters, as Luther in religion, or Hutten in politics. He greatly improved the poetical forms which were adopted by his predecessors, and, overstepping the limits which had before been drawn around the practice of the divine art, taught his successors to walk abroad over the fields of universal knowledge. The language of Sachs is more highly cultivated than that of any contemporary except Luther. His rhymes are, indeed, frequently turned off with too great rapidity and uniformity ; his cultivation was not equal to his native talent ; but he had a great poetic soul, and nobly executed the task to which he was called, of singing the praises of virtue and satirizing the follies of superstition. As a polemic, he was moderate ; he was warmly interested in the

religious reforms of the day, but not excited by them. In other respects, he was one of the most manly spirits who lived in the time of the Reformation, — keeping a soul serene amid all the distractions of the age, and modestly prosecuting his honest trade of shoemaking.

The Reformation gave rise to a new form of religious poetry. The Latin hymns of the Catholic church were supplanted by the sacred songs of Protestant theologians, who, from the time of Luther to that of Klopstock, held exclusive possession of the German Parnassus. The calamities of the Thirty Years' War between the rival churches unsealed the fountains of religious and poetic feeling ; and the agitated soul poured itself forth in hymns and spiritual songs. The number of these effusions of the sacred muse was very great ; Hardenberg's register contains the first lines of no less than sixty thousand. Almost every priest was, or claimed to be, a poet. The Scriptures and the creeds of the church were versified ; the Latin Catholic songs, among which were many of transcendent beauty, as, for example, the *Dies iræ*, and the *Apparebit repentina*, were translated ; of morning and evening benedictions, of bridal and burial, Christmas and new year's, songs, of house and church melodies, laments, thanksgivings, and litanies, there was almost an infinite variety. Those written by Luther are generally the best. They breathe the spirit of his firm and cheerful faith, of his deep sentiment, and his robust, yet tempered manliness of character. Luther, and most of the other writers, composed musical accompaniments to their hymns, — some of them believing, that to every one to whom the Holy Ghost imparted a new song, it also gave a new melody. Whatever Luther wrote was everywhere imitated and sung, in church and school, in the house and the shop, the street, the market place, and the field ; so that the religious songs of the theologians after the Reformation universally prevailed over the secular poetry of their predecessors, as they have also remained unequalled by similar productions of later times. Novalis and Harms may have written choral melodies which embody the spirit of true devotion, and which may be more elegantly finished than those of Hermann or Luther ; but the people at large have the stanch faith, the noble simplicity, and the devout reverence of the old times no longer ; and, together with the loss of these virtues, they have lost their former enthusiasm for the solemn lyre.

The next great luminary that arose in the poetic heaven of Germany was Martin Opitz. He has been called the founder of the modern poetical literature of his country; and was, at least, the father of its artistic poetry. Opitz greatly improved his vernacular language, and he united the spirit of the ancient Greek with that of the modern German literature. He first taught his countrymen the art of making literal translations from the classics; he introduced again the secular love-song, that had hardly passed the lips of youth since the days of the Minnesingers; and, developing the powers of the North in Silesia, as those of the more precocious South had before been displayed in Suabia, he established the poetry of reflection by the side of that of sentiment. The great abilities of Opitz were acknowledged even during his lifetime. The contemporary poets were all loud in his praise; the German muse was called the Opitzian; a journey which he made through the land, after the publication of his poems, was a march of triumph; and, at Vienna, he was both crowned with the laurel, and raised to the honors of nobility. He did not, however, possess the highest gifts of genius; he had no power of original invention, and his poetry was more perfect in form, than fresh and copious in materials. Neither, although there were not wanting good points in his character, was he distinguished by the nobler virtues as a man; but rather, like too many other literary men of his times, by subserviency to the great, who rewarded the poet with offices, and flattered him with titles and honors.

We have now hastily followed our author through the first three volumes of his work, containing the history of the early poetical literature of the Germans; and have reached a period, when we may look for the appearance of a poet of higher and more comprehensive genius than that which animated those whom we have already noticed. Hitherto, we have seen poetry confined to separate classes of society and local schools; we have met with writers whose views were bound to particular times and places, and whose culture was hardly superior to that of the comparatively unenlightened age in which they lived. But Klopstock, standing on the vantage-ground of modern times, overlooked the entire course of the past. He summed up the labors of all his predecessors, and harvested the combined literary culture of ten centuries. The learning acquired by previous industry,

a cultivated language and an improved art, the experience of a long line of poets and ages of history, the liberal spirit of modern times, and the old superstitions, legends, and fair, poetic fables, — all were the inheritance of Klopstock. With this poet, accordingly, — as, in a less degree, with his immediate predecessor, Gottsched, — the universal, revolutionary, and comparatively independent spirit of modern German literature began distinctly to manifest itself.

Frederic Gottlob Klopstock was born in Quedlinburg, in 1724, and lived till 1803. He grew up in the open air, a vigorous and precocious boy ; and at an early age learned the arts of riding, swimming, and skating, the latter of which he passionately loved and sang. Solitude and society were equally agreeable to him ; hilarity and pensiveness seemed by turns to be the prevailing traits of his disposition. He wrote pastorals and penitential hymns, while at school. Even in youth, says Gervinus, his fingers were skilled to sweep the Grecian lyre, the *telyn* of the old German bards, and the psaltery of the sacred singers of Judea. And he was soon inspired with the ambitious hope of producing some great work, that should enable his native country to take poetic rank by the side of the proudest of her sister kingdoms.

Klopstock excelled in the ode, of which he composed three different kinds ; one, in the spirit of David and the prophets, another, in that of Ossian and the Edda, and the third, in imitation of Pindar and Horace. Of these different classes, the last is the best, as the Greeks and Romans were the most accomplished masters of this species of composition. According to Herder, every one of Klopstock's odes has a distinct and peculiar expression ; each is a different dance of harmonious words, and each a choral song that must be heard in order to be appreciated. Klopstock was, in fact, a musician. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the great contemporary masters, Handel and Bach, Gluck and Kunst. Their compositions kindled his poetical rapture, and often furnished, directly, the materials for his odes. He has himself acknowledged, that his principal guides, in the invention of lyric measures, were Nature and the tone-inspired Bach.

But Klopstock was not satisfied with writing odes. He burned with the desire to compose a great epic poem, of which the inspiration should be drawn from the religion of

Jesus, and not from the art of classic Greece, or the passion of barbarian Germany. He lived, as he once said to his friend Claudius, only to sing the song of God. The execution of this pious work he had designed to defer until he had reached his thirtieth year; but impatient frenzy prevailed, and he commenced "The Messiah" in his youth. The subject of this epic hymn is passion, instead of action, and herein lies its greatest fault. Even the hero is represented as suffering, rather than doing; and all the persons introduced into the poem express their feelings, instead of showing us their acts. These feelings, too, all run into ecstasies; the poem is full of raptures, visions, laments, hallelujahs, and tears. Written under the influence of strong religious emotion, and being, in fact, a record of the poet's spiritual experience, it can be perused only in a similar state of pious exaltation. But as this cannot be a permanent state of mind, the author's attempt at continual pathos and sublimity has necessarily made the entire work a succession of magnificent failures. The men and women of "The Messiah" are either angels or devils; the angels themselves, without characteristic attributes, are vague and empty forms, shadows, nothings. How unlike the fair humanities of Milton's heaven! In the case of the Saviour, too,—so unlike the beautiful and natural anthropomorphism of the Scriptures,—the majesty of the God entirely overshadows the mild virtues and affectionate sympathies of the man. Thus the beauty of materiality is completely spiritualized away in Klopstock, as facts are all sublimated into sentiments.

"The Messiah" was originally received in Germany with the greatest enthusiasm, and brought many a pious soul to its *Nunc dimittas*. It comprehended all the culture, and surpassed by far the expectations, of the times. But posterity pronounces it, as a work of art, to be too musical in its character, too personal, too pathetical, and too sublime. Men attribute to it, as the noblest poem Germany had then produced, great historical, but less æsthetical value. In fine, they revere the poet, but do not read him.

The religious spirit of Klopstock, who exerted a great influence on the succeeding literature of his country, was reproduced in the early writings of Christopher Martin Wieland. When but thirteen years of age, Wieland began to plan epics; at school, he vexed his nights with pious and

penitential tears. When he began to write for the public, his pages glowed with faith in virtue ; he admired the simplicity of Xenophon, and studied the wisdom of Socrates with the eyes of Plato, and not, as in later times, with those of Aristippus. He hated the frivolity of the French, and bent with devout veneration over the solemnities of Young. He composed an *Anti-Ovid*, and the *Emotions of a Christian*, in which piety was surrounded with those graces that he afterwards caused to wait on pleasure. He celebrated in pastorals the innocence of an idyllic life, believed in the past existence of an age of gold, when purity was protected by fig-leaves, condemned the Anacreontic poets who sung the charms of Venus, and anathematized the poetry of the imitators of Ovid, as the wine of devils, by which thoughtless souls were intoxicated to their own destruction.

The piety of Wieland passed away with his youth ; and the author of " Agathon " fell for ever from the heaven of the seraphic poets. This work, as well as several others on Grecian themes, was written in the spirit of the Aristippian philosophy. The perfumed air of the isles of Greece blows over their pages. Still, as there was nothing wanting, save the electric spark of genius, to reduce to fusion the poetical materials in Wieland's mind, in order to make him a true poet ; so was there nothing lacking in his delineations of Grecian life and manners, to render them truly antique, except the old Greek feeling itself. His Graces are not the same beauteous virgins that waited on the footsteps of Aphrodite, and danced in the presence of Jove. They are affected, instead of being ingenuous ; and have modern coquetry, in the place of antique innocence.

In his attempt to reproduce the spirit of the Middle Ages, Wieland was more successful, as the task was much more congenial to his temperament. " Gandelin," and his other tales and fables in imitation of the literature of chivalry, possess all the graces of fancy and sentiment which embellish the writings of the Minnesingers. They transport us back to the romantic times, when the squire was proud to follow his knight, when the peasant fought unto death beneath the banner of his chieftain, and the chieftain beneath the eye of his prince. " Oberon," founded on the old romance of Huon de Bordeaux, is, in fact, almost the only work which made, and still preserves, the name of Wieland popular. It

does not, however, rank with the highest kind of poetry. Its object is merely the entertainment of the reader ; and success in this species of composition requires no higher gifts than those of poetic recital.

Wieland received from Aristippus the principle, that wisdom consists in holding the golden mean between all extremes ; but unfortunately, he did not always follow it in practice. The society in which he lived was in a state of transition, like that through which the individual sometimes passes from childhood to manhood, — a state of doubt, self-deception, and frequent change. He occupied a position midway between the pastoral innocence and golden youth of Klopstock's time, and the enlightened, philosophic culture of Schiller's and Goethe's. We find him, at one time, writing out his religious experience, and, at another, studying French poetry and composing in the style of Voltaire ; now attempting to revive the romantic spirit of the Middle Ages, and now to reanimate the antique genius of classic Greece ; now designing to portray in a romance the school of Socrates, and then to write a history of the German Empire. Sometimes, he allowed himself to sport with the most sacred mysteries of religion, and then again he endeavoured to lay the foundations of a purer and higher morality, by teaching the inseparableness of wisdom and virtue. He held, that the object of poetry and art was, to produce the beautiful, not the useful, or the pleasurable ; and yet was ever employing them to invest virtue with graceful attractions, and to enrich life with elevated pleasures. He led a high ideal life, while he was at the same time polluting his pages with wanton descriptions of vice. Living in the bosom of his family, on a dozen acres, he was also a citizen of the world ; was both poet and critic ; a novelist to-day, and a philosopher to-morrow. Such a career precluded him, of course, from effecting much in the higher walks of art, and prevented his exerting any thing more than a transient influence upon the character of his countrymen.

We now come to a writer in whom is to be found nothing either of the maiden sentimentality of Klopstock, or the refined, philosophic effeminacy of Wieland. Lessing was not a man to waste his nights in pietistic weeping, nor to lie down beneath Elysian skies to day-dreams of love and pleasure. His was a proud and daring spirit, endowed with

fortitude, magnanimity, and great decision. The son of an orthodox clergyman, Lessing was designed by his parents to follow the profession of divinity. But his free and wild spirit made him prefer the stage to the pulpit, and set the society of wits and players before that of pedants and theologians. At the youthful age when Klopstock read Fenelon, and Wieland was absorbed with Xenophon, the favorites of Lessing were Terence, Plautus, and Theophrastus. Impatient of the restraints of university life, believing that books would never make him wiser, and involved, moreover, in pecuniary difficulties, from his thoughtless but generous prodigality, and from the expense of learning the arts of riding, fencing, and dancing, he left his debts behind him in Leipsic, and his studies afterwards in Wittenberg, to take refuge in the society of the freethinkers of Berlin. There, having relinquished all thought of seeking his fortune either by medicine or theology, he gave vent to his struggling feelings in epigrams, and wrote the learned articles for the newspaper of Vosz. Fettered to no place and to no persons, he soon left Berlin to accompany the army to Breslau, in the capacity of secretary to Tauenzien. A professorship in Königsberg, which was some time afterwards proffered him, he declined, from unwillingness to pronounce the yearly panegyric ; and indulged his imagination with the prospect of a more independent mode of life, by connecting himself with a bookseller's house in Hamburg. But he finally accepted the office of librarian at Wolfenbüttel, where he could gratify his desire to labor and put forth the force that was in him, without being a dependent on the sweet voices of the public, or a hanger-on upon any man's favor. There he generously furthered all noble undertakings within the sphere of his influence, and continued those labors for elevating the low estate of the German theatre, which long afterwards resulted so gloriously in the perfection of the national drama. At this period, a great calamity befell him in the loss of his wife and child ; but he bore it with noble stoicism, though saying, that these frequent messengers of death made him anxious to follow their call.

The same spirit which characterized the life of Lessing pervaded his writings. While Klopstock described the heroic, and Wieland the weak, the works of Lessing exhibit the natural and true man. They are filled with a spiritual

freshness and healthy vigor, such as can be found in those of no other modern writer in Germany. There is no false sentiment in them, no corrupt principle. Lessing is earnest, vigorous, tolerant, truthful, progressive. He turned away from Wieland's "Agathon" with moral indignation, though highly appreciating its artistic merit; and said pedantically of Goethe's "Werter," that such an ἐξ ἔρωτος κατοχὴ, impelling a man τὶ τολμᾶν παρὰ φύσιν, would not, in the age of Socrates, have been deemed allowable even in a girl. Though a thorough German, he had more of the spirit of the old Greeks, and a clearer insight into the character of Grecian art, literature, and life, than any of his countrymen who lived before him. For nature, he possessed a simple, unsophisticated love, but not a sickly longing, such as is sometimes found in persons who are less familiar with it. In poetry, he sought for man and manly actions, not for moral precepts, or descriptive landscapes. In philosophy he believed in the ἕν καὶ πᾶν of Spinoza; but also in a Providence which notices the fall of the sparrow, and in all the orderings of which he manifested a truly Greek, we can hardly say Christian, acquiescence. He acknowledged no other moral law for a moral being than that which is derived from his particular nature, and which requires him to act according to his individual endowments. Truly antique was his sentiment, that one ought to be so occupied with the duties of the present life, as to have no inclination to debate the existence of another; and that, as we can await the end of a single day, so ought we to be able to await that of life; and any astrological art or religion, which could disclose to us either the near or the distant future, would not be worth the having. In the same spirit of resignation to a higher Power, he once told Jacobi, though his entire life was a rare specimen of the noblest liberty, that he wished for no freedom of will. His love of truth was surpassed by nothing but his love of the pursuit of it; and he has left on record the following sublime passage, as remarkable for its modesty as its boldness: — "It is not the truth a man has, or thinks that he has, but the sincere pains he has applied to obtain it, that constitutes his worth. For not by the possession of truth, but by the search after it, are his powers enlarged, wherein alone his ever growing perfection doth subsist. Possession makes man quiet, indolent, and proud. If God

should hold out in his right hand all truth, and in his left simply the intense desire for it, although with the condition that I should eternally err in the pursuit, and should say unto me, Choose! I would fall humbly on his left, and say, Father, give! Pure truth is, indeed, for thee alone." The religious sentiments of Lessing were similar to those which have since prevailed in the learned classes of German society; yet, like Leibnitz before him, allowing both an esoteric and an exoteric faith, he was very far from wishing to alter the forms of the established worship, or in any way needlessly to disturb the faith of the common people. The labors of Lessing were very various; his learning prodigious; his aims universal; his influence extensive, and, in certain respects, salutary. Like Leibnitz, again, he ranged observingly over the whole theatre of the period in which he lived, proving all things and holding fast to that which was good, narrowed by no exclusive system of philosophy, and devoted to no one method of investigation. He at last brought the ancient times to a complete termination, and fully introduced the new ages.

Lessing was no poet. He himself expressly said, that the living fountains of poetry were not in him. But the author of the "Laocöon" was perhaps the greatest critic of modern times. The object of this celebrated work is, to show, that the isolation of the several fine arts from each other is essential to their perfection, and that their common aim is the production of beauty. The peculiar province of poetry is proved to be entirely distinct both from that of morality and of philosophy, being limited, strictly speaking, to the exhibition of ideal actions. These views, in which Lessing differed widely from Klopstock, who made moral beauty, and also from Wieland, who considered nature and truth, as the great aim of poetry, but in which he agreed with Aristotle, and was closely followed in their æsthetical theories by Goethe, Schiller, and Humboldt, were enforced with great argumentative power, extraordinary purity and correctness of taste, and with rich and pertinent illustrations from the art and literature of Greece. By his plays, written in prose, and which, marking out the boundaries between prose and poetry, first established the true relations between them, Lessing regenerated the German stage; and by his "Dramaturgie" delivering German poetry from the yoke

of French dogmatism, he pointed out to his countrymen the true paths to the Parnassian mount, which they afterwards so generally and successfully followed.

We cannot pass by Winckelmann, that noble Grecian, who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was the teacher of art for all civilized Europe, without saying a word or two respecting his character and works. Reluctant, like Lessing, to study the profession of divinity, for which he had been set apart, this great expounder of antique art sighed out the first thirty years of his life in giving lessons to little boys and girls. His spirit remained unbroken, however, and the study of classic art and literature afterwards restored him to second youth. At length, for the sake of spending the remainder of his days amidst the ruins and the arts of Rome, he changed his religion, and adopted the name of Catholic, — saying to a friend, "*Nullum ingenium magnum sine mixturâ dementiæ.*" In fact, however, though the recollection of early religious impressions was always precious to Winckelmann, as to Goethe, though he also composed Lutheran hymns that were pressed, throughout Prussia, to the hearts of the pious, and though, when under adversity, he could pour, both into his own bosom and the broken hearts of his friends, the oil of religious consolation, yet he laid no claim to piety in the popular sense of the word. As he was a Catholic at Rome, so would he, in Greece, have been a priest of Cybele, or a worshipper of Osiris in Egypt. His religion, which he called philosophy, was that which, in his opinion, remained at last as the common truth of all forms of religious belief. To act and strive in the present hour he considered to be his calling ; and thought, if possible, less even than Lessing, of immortality. In Winckelmann, the good and the bad were mixed up together, as in nature ; and to be better than nature, he, like Goethe, had no desire, but rather a disinclination. In the solitude and adversity of his early life, he acquired an elasticity of mind, which enabled him to make sacrifices and practise self-denial, but which also fitted him for yielding easily to the pressure of circumstances and the wickedness of mankind. He was too proud, it must be confessed, of his name and reputation ; and the intensity with which he loved his country was regulated by the amount of incense it offered to his vanity. His simplicity and *naïveté* of character were

extraordinary. He laid open his whole nature to inspection ; and followed out, like a child, all his impulses, though with a certain degree of moderation, — saying, with the wise men of antiquity, that he wished not to be too happy. In Italy, he learned to harmonize the conflicting elements of his character, — husbanding his enthusiasm, guiding his straightforwardness with prudence, and mitigating the violence of his passions by quiet and humility. The great work by which Winckelmann is known to fame is his " History of Art." By this, he opened the realms of beauty to his countrymen, and led them into the temple of Grecian art, as Herder did into that of Hebrew wisdom and poetry.

The first appearance of Herder in literature was bold and even arrogant. The sensitive, excitable youth, whose nerves were too weak for the practice of medicine, for which he had been designed, and whose retiring and conscientious disposition better fitted him for the profession of theology, which he afterwards followed, came forward at first, anonymously, indeed, but in a style of composition that was fearless, assuming, and ambitious. Though a teacher in his youth, like Winckelmann, he never had, like him, to struggle with poverty ; he started, also, with this other advantage over his immediate predecessors, that he entered into the harvest of their labors. Favored by fortune, though never aided by friendship, for which his shrinking and distrustful disposition made him quite unfit, his gentle, pliable nature acquired elasticity and hardihood. In his early publications, which consisted chiefly of critical essays upon literature and art, he boldly attacked, though he by no means overthrew, the artistic theories of Lessing and the philosophical system of Kant. He advocated his own opinions with strong and genial enthusiasm, and displayed, withal, a liberality of religious sentiment, that did not fail to raise some suspicions of his orthodoxy in the minds of more scrupulous theologians. He adopted, in the main, the theological views of Lessing, carrying them, at least, as far as was consistent with his sacred calling, and defending them, together with the philosophy of Spinoza, against the objections of Jacobi.

Of all Herder's predecessors and contemporaries, Lessing exerted the greatest influence upon his writings, though Klopstock produced a deeper impression upon his character. Compared with the former, Herder has more feeling, Lessing

more insight. The writings of Lessing abound in convincing demonstrations ; those of Herder, in splendid declamations ; the one having more science and more truth, the other more rhetoric and more error. The former always exhausted his subject, and brought his works to completion ; while the latter never published any thing but fragments. But in susceptibility to the beautiful and noble in the literature of foreign countries and distant times, Herder excelled both Lessing and all his other contemporaries. Such was the facility with which he seized upon the characteristics, and such the fidelity with which he reproduced the spirit and form, the tone and coloring, of the literature of all nations, that the haughtiness of the Spaniard, the *naïveté* of the Lithuanian, the mild sentimentality of the German, the dashing boldness of English historical romance, the fresh life of the ancient Greek, and the dreamy musings of the Asiatic Indian, the glow of the South, and the gloom of the North, — all seem to be comprehended within the broad bosom of this one genius. As Winckelmann's " History of Art " unlocked the treasures of Greece, so did Herder's " Spirit of Hebrew Poetry " open the way to the ancient world of the East, whence, as also from all European lands, from the vales of the tropics, and the hills of the North, from Greenland and Peru, he brought home flowers of every form, hue, and scent, to interweave in the garland of his country's literature.

Herder was like an inspired child, — all sense and feeling, in love with simplicity and nature, and deeply impressed by the mysterious and remote in time or place. His whole life, he once said, was but the interpretation of the oracles of his childhood. Children, women, and men of simple minds were, in his estimation, the most eloquent of orators. He wished he had been born in the Middle Ages ; he gave an ear to prophesyings, and longed to see a ghost. The earliest poetry he always thought the best ; and language in its rudest state, the most poetic. He regarded Greek poetry as not to be compared with the Hebrew ; admired Ossian and the songs of the North American Indians ; and looked upon his treatise on the earliest records of the human race as a new Scripture. He made collections of popular songs, and set a higher value on them than upon the productions of artistic poets, not one of whom could he endure, save Klopstock. His imagination roamed enraptured through the par-

adise of the past, and beheld in the distant future a return of the age of gold.

The views and principles advanced by Herder in the second stage of his progress were very dissimilar to those entertained by him in the first. As was the case with Goethe, the revolutionary spirit, with which he was possessed in youth, died out in him long before it did in the nation. Hence, in his "Calligone," and his polemical writings against Kant, we find him both contradicting his former self, and opposing the spirit of the times. In early life, he thought that poetry declined with the progress of civilization; but now he believes in its advance. No longer the idolizer of popular song, he considers that the highest poetry, in which there is a harmonious union of nature and art. He expects the coming of a future bard, who shall sing in measures the last results of philosophy, and even reduce to verse the scientific systems of Copernicus and Buffon. As Goethe, at a later period, discovered something excellent and weighty in the decency of Voltaire, so Herder, the former admirer of the simplicity of nature, now appears as the defender of the French poets, and praises the precision and definiteness of their language as the necessary fruit of refined culture. He, who once complained of the mingling of the beautiful and the good in the works of Klopstock, now adopts for his motto, — the beautiful, the good, and the true, one and inseparable. No longer do we hear him declaim about the unconsciousness of genius, — he does not believe in it; no longer does he proclaim the inspiration of feeling, — he laughs at the Quakers in science, who wait for the anointing of the Spirit; no longer does he extol the genius of Shakspeare, — he is almost in favor of shutting up the theatres; no longer is he the advocate even of the freedom of religious opinion, — he proposes to forbid theological polemics by a royal ordinance, and to expurgate error by fire from every circulating library in the land. Herder went back to the seventeenth century, — the age, which, like himself, studied antiquity and translated foreign literature, which mixed up the styles of poetry and prose, which divided its interest between poetry and theology, — the age of enthusiasm for popular songs and music, and the age, also, of historical learning, culminating in Leibnitz, who, in this respect, was Herder's highest ideal.

Herder was not without a certain *penchant* for practical life. He wished that he had received an education which would have better fitted him for living in the midst of men; that he had devoted himself to the study of mathematics, history, oratory, drawing, nature, mankind, and manners. He proposed to reform the schools by the introduction of realistic studies; he taught that all methods for reforming mankind, except the cultivation of the more active virtues, served only to enervate them; regretted that he had become an author; and lamented the want of those popular accomplishments, which were necessary to make him the centre of extensive social influences. Herder was ambitious to play the same part at the court of Catharine which Voltaire did at that of Frederic; and, after founding an academy, according to the pattern of his ideal, in Finland, he proposed to apply the principles of Montesquieu to the national education of the natives. The opportunities which he actually had, however, for displaying his skill in the marshalling of affairs, did not turn out very successfully. Being invited by Count William as court preacher to Bückeburg, he accomplished nothing for the benefit of prince or people, beyond making religion agreeable to the Countess, who was sickly, and concerned about her future state; and at the court of Weimar, also, whither he was called through the influence of Goethe, he confined himself altogether to comforting the Duchess.

We next turn, for a while, to Jean Paul Frederic Richter, of Wunsiedel, who was born in 1763, and died in 1825. He is one of those authors, who have the misfortune to be extravagantly admired by one party in literature, and as decidedly disliked by another. Many persons, after having reached the age when they require their understanding to render an account of their reading, soon become weary of his writings. To others, on the contrary, Richter appeared not a whit less than an apostle; and sentimental ladies were so smitten with adoration of his genius, as to think themselves honored by wearing a lock, not of the poet's hair, but of his spaniel's, in their bosom. The judgment which Gervinus passes upon this writer may not satisfy many of his admirers either in Germany or in this country; but it will not appear too severe to the great majority of his countrymen, who do not rank him among their highest poets.

Jean Paul's nature, unlike that of Schiller and Goethe, for

example, had but one period of development, and then stood still. Though not altogether unconscious of the imperfection of his spiritual growth, he could never fully understand the saying of Goethe, that one is a different person every ten years. He himself enjoyed throughout life perpetual youth; and hoped for nothing better than its perpetuation even in heaven. The heats of youthful passion and the fire of early enthusiasm never abated in him. His *morale* inculcates the purity and innocence of childhood; and his views generally are so characterized by youthfulness, as to appear rather unsuitable for his manhood and his years. His life, too, was one of great uniformity. Little influenced by public events, and little varied by fluctuations of domestic fortune, it was not much more than a peaceful succession of states purely idyllic. His autobiography is a perfect picture of still life, not differing widely from many of his romances; and was not completed, partly, perhaps, because there were no more facts to be narrated. He grew up in narrow circumstances, with little help from the schools, but indifferently well versed in history and the common branches of learning, with only a smattering of ancient literature, and a superficial, though extensive, acquaintance with the sciences.

If, however, there was no after-growth in Jean Paul's nature, the first growth was a very rich one. If his actual life was monotonous, that of his imagination was crowded with events the most remarkable, and scenes the most varied and interesting. He derived not much benefit from the teachings of the schools; but his twelve quarto volumes of extracts, completed before his entrance into the university, certainly exhibit the diligence and perseverance of the self-educated scholar. Composition was almost a monomania with Jean Paul. He began to write books as soon as he had learned to form his letters, — kept diaries, both religious and secular, — even noted down subjects for conversation on a tablet, — had at one time collected together no less than twenty thick quartos of ironical expressions, and a still larger number of satirical ones, — became an author before he was out of his teens, — and, instead of devoting his youth to the collection of materials for future use, reaped the fruits of his learning while they were yet green and half grown. He drank wine to enliven his wits at the writing-desk, instead of satisfying the demands of appetite with it at the table; and

thought, at the end of each day's labors, that he was nearer to an easy death, in proportion as he had diminished, by writing, the wearisome burden of thoughts that weighed upon his brain. His youth was poor indeed in worldly goods; but in feelings, fancies, and domestic joys, it was very rich. With the help of a little music and moonshine, a few holy-day visits to town, and the pursuit of a village maiden indifferently pretty, he enjoyed an income of spiritual delights, not to be exchanged for the gold of *millionnaires* or the jewels of princes. Nearly all the characteristic elements of the times are to be found united in his writings, — the heartlessness of its satire, its sickly excess of sentiment, the "chamois leaps" of its wild, irregular fantasy, the sober views of its sound understanding, both its love and hatred of the world, its idealism, its realism, and its spirituality. At the same time, his productions are all strict transcripts of his inward life. He is constantly drawing away the attention of the reader from the work to its author. We recognize his own peculiarities in Fixlein, his own home attachments in Wuz and Fibel, the petty foibles of his first authorship in the "Wild Oats," and the portraits of his personal friends in the heroes of the "Titan." The pages of Jean Paul sparkle with the most brilliant coruscations of wit and fancy; yet his humorous, like his heroic characters, are too often mere caricatures. On the whole, it must be said, that his works abound more in reflections than in facts, in sentiments than in truths, and less in the description of actions, than in visions, dreams, allegories, and whatever else there may be that is fantastic and unreal.

"These," says Gervinus, "are the two extremes on which every thing turns in this writer. On the one side, he is offended with the world, he turns away from men with contempt, and annihilates the external universe with scorn; on the other side, he attaches himself to still life, retires into the realms of the spirit, and finds again his lost worldly weal in the quiet of narrow circumstances, and in silent communion with his hopes of a better future. To the first mood of mind, we are indebted for his humorous characters, who carry their raillery against the world to a disgust with it; to the second, for his soft, self-conceited personages, who unite an utter ignorance of men with an infinite love for the welfare of the entire race. The one class of persons sink, on occasions, to the most contemptible meanness;

while the 'flower-souls' of the second class exalt themselves to the extreme of the author's so called noble characters, who turn their backs on the world to preserve themselvs from its pollution, and discover that the highest purity of soul is inconsistent with habits of active usefulness. On the one hand, Jean Paul is skeptical, satirical, a persecutor of German coxcombry, and a realist in his manner of representation, as is generally the case with youth when it falls into this extreme; on the other hand, he is sentimental, weak, inflated, elegiac, and a spiritualist, such as is rarely to be met with. If in the first direction he heaps up wit beyond measure, and overtasks the powers of the understanding; so, in the second, he goes too far in the excitement of sensibility, and in his tendency to tears, to which, like Sterne, he is very fond of moving his readers."

The most important fruits of Jean Paul's genius are the "Titan," and the "Wild Oats," (*Flegeljahre.*) The former of these seems to have been intended for a side picture to Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," and, though to a great extent a reproduction of the "Hesperus," —as many of Richter's later productions are mere repetitions of their predecessors, — is generally considered as the author's masterpiece. In the latter, we are presented with a picture of the chivalry of early feeling, of the mad fancies which are wont to chase each other through the brains of youth, of winter plays around the paternal hearth, of quiet domestic joys, of first love, of Sunday homesickness, and of every thing, in fact, which thrills the young and generous bosom, such as can be found on the pages of no other writer. The religious views of Richter may be best learned from his treatise on immortality, entitled the "Campanian Vale," (*Campanerthal,*) in which, adopting the doctrine of the Critical Philosophy, he predicated the existence of a future life on the consideration, that another and a higher state of being is necessary for the perfect development of the good, the true, and the beautiful. His religion consisted in living for immortality and the Divinity. He always despised earthly fame, as men of the highest genius are not wont to do; and in his youth, wished to learn nothing but what would be useful to him in the life to come. He stood with but one foot on the present stage of existence, ever ready, pen, ink, and paper in hand, to step off with the other upon the future.

Passing from the modern Gothic style of Richter, we find at last the restoration of ancient classic beauty in the works

of Schiller and Goethe. To these two poets our author has devoted upwards of two hundred pages ; but the narrow limits within which we are restricted, and the length of time we have already trespassed upon the patience of our readers, will not allow us to do more than cast a hasty glance upon their characters and writings.

If we were to attempt to characterize Goethe with a single word, we should say, that he was an *optimist*. He beheld imperfections both in nature and humanity, but also a great tendency to amelioration, — a great, universal law of progress, slowly and silently, yet everywhere and irresistibly, evolving good out of evil. This progression, moreover, he was not at all anxious to accelerate beyond its natural pace, by any forced activity of his own. He put no spurs in the sides of his intent ; but allowing free play and scope to the forces with which he had been endowed, ever kept his mind in a state of healthy and genial action. He constantly defended himself against all external influences that might disturb the serene equanimity of his feelings, or that might stimulate the warm glow of thought into feverish excitement. The discord of human opinions appeared to him to grow entirely out of the diversity of human character, — all systems of faith or philosophy, however contradictory in appearance, to be founded on essentially the same great, universal principles, — and every error, so called, to be only a different phase of truth, which, under an infinite variety of forms, is one and the same for ever. He was, accordingly, tolerant of the views of those who disagreed with him ; and did not think it essential either to the present or future salvation of others, that they should be converted to precisely his way of thinking. He was content to study Nature as she is, and asked not of her the questions, — Whence, or Whither. Little interested, in fact, in the history of the past, and wholly disinclined to any speculations respecting the future, he lived cheerfully and actively in the everlasting present. Having a character built up, as the Germans say, on every side, he was a good hater of systems of philosophy, as narrow and onesided ; and, experiencing in himself as many as three or four entirely new evolutions of nature, he abjured all creeds and formulas of belief, as hindering the mind from progress.

One of the great principles which guided the life of

Goethe may be found in the sentiment expressed by Cicero, in his beautiful tract *De Senectute*, — "*In hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem, tamquam deum, sequimur, eique paremus.*" Of a delicate organization, the communion of nature was more agreeable to Goethe, than the society of men. He guarded his individuality of character from the too near approaches even of friendship and love; but nestled confidingly as a child in the kindly bosom of mother earth, and received the breath of his life from the inspiration of this great mother. In this great genius, as in the material world, the most mighty and discordant forces were blended together in peaceful harmony; and the expression which characterizes both his life and works is kind and calm, like that which rests upon the face of nature. The perfect man, he taught, is one whose faculties, of what kind soever, are all fully and naturally developed, the lower being in willing subjection to the higher. Pantheistic in his religious belief, he held to no self-determining principle in the individual soul, and considered the freedom of the mind to consist in nothing more than the harmony of its faculties. His motto was, *Vivere memento.*

Goethe was an artist, — nothing more, nor less. Schiller wrote history and dabbled in metaphysics, though he had no talent for pure speculation, and his history is but little better than fiction; but Goethe never left the mountain of the Muses. He was a naturalist, it is true, yet his observations of nature were all made on the Parnassian heights, and along the banks of the Castalian waters. He viewed life poetically only, and converted all things to artistic uses. When in Italy, he set a higher value even on the shadows of ancient art, than upon the human beings who were wont to repose under them; and could conceive of no two things more undesirable, than to rebuild the picturesque desolations of the Eternal City, and to cultivate again the sublime wastes of the surrounding *campagna*. So exclusively was his life consecrated to the service of Apollo, that he turned away from the study of the facts of history, avoided all philosophical investigations, and abjured the habits of reflection and self-examination, in order the better to preserve unimpaired his power of poetical creation. His whole experience was written out in poetry, or in fiction. Whatever there is gay or sad in his writings was first in his life; and it is to the

short but severe struggles of the world within and without him, that we owe all the early, and some of the most important, productions of his muse.

The author of "Faust" was lavishly endowed by nature with those transcendent gifts which are requisite to make the epic poet. But much to his regret, he was not born in an epic age. Accordingly, in the absence of heroic deeds worthy of the lyre, he was obliged to seek in the great ideas of his times for the themes of song. These, however, he was not obliged to search for without the limits of his own capacious intellect; for in that was matured the highest wisdom of the age. Many of the profound truths laboriously excogitated by Hegel and the ablest contemporary metaphysicians of Germany sprang up spontaneously in the mind of Goethe, and have received from his pen their fit poetical expression. And besides uttering in verse all the wisdom of his own times, he has, also, in some of his works, reproduced the chivalry of the Middle Ages, and in others the unconscious beauty of the ancient Greeks. He has written every species of poetry; and, especially, has touched the lyre with all the lightness and grace of the old lyrical masters.

If Goethe was created an epic poet, Schiller was born a dramatist. More fortunate in his natal star than the former, the latter lived in an age that furnished a most appropriate theatre for the exercise of his art and the display of his gifts. The nature of Schiller was in harmony with the tendencies of the times. He was patriotic, and struggled for freedom. He knew men, sympathized with the people, stood shoulder to shoulder with his fellows in the great revolutionary conflicts, and was thought worthy by the French republicans to be honored with a diploma of citizenship from "the great nation." But Goethe knew only man; led, never growing old, a high ideal life; and on arriving, advanced in years, at the summit of his career, he found no broad table-land whereon to wrestle for the prizes of life with his peers, but at once descended on the other side, unattended, into the valley of shadows. Schiller was a poet in spite of hinderances, and may almost be said to have taken the seat of the Muses by storm. Goethe sang from instinctive impulse, and appeared in the society of Apollo and the Gods like one in his native home. The

tragic poet quickened the pulse of his life by artificial stimulants, overstrained his powers, and was possessed by his genius. The epic poet, pouring forth in song the thoughts that oppressed his breast, arose, relieved from his labors, like a strong man refreshed with sport. True, Schiller directed his impulses towards his chosen aims ; but it was like guiding a bark borne down by the rapids ; while Goethe, following the instinctive promptings of nature, floated along upon a peaceful current at its " own sweet will." The poetry of Schiller is subjective ; that of Goethe objective. Schiller adores freedom ; Goethe worships nature. The former acknowledges the moral law of conscience, and exalts the true, the beautiful, and the good. The latter inculcates the harmony of all laws, unfolds the wisdom and beauty of things as they are, and makes common life poetical. The one stimulates us to the pursuit of unattainable ends ; the other teaches us wisely to improve our actual possessions, and cheerfully to strive after possible perfections. Schiller was a priest of the ideal, Goethe an interpreter of the real world. The same contrast exists between these two minds, which, running through all literary history, is to be seen between Plato and Aristotle, Epicurus and Zeno, Rousseau and Voltaire, Tasso and Ariosto, Lope and Calderon, Klopstock and Wieland, Herder and Lessing.

" Chronologically," says Gervinus, " the oppositions of the real and the ideal lay in nearly an inverted relation in these two poets. Goethe proceeded more from a real towards an ideal tendency ; Schiller, after his acquaintance with Goethe and the ancients, endeavoured to approach the real from the opposite point of the ideal. The latter went back from speculation to poetical intuition ; the former from poetical intuition advanced, if not to speculation, at least to contemplation ; and while, in the traces of Goethe, there followed Oriental spiritualism, in those of Schiller, there came stanch patriotism, both in life and in poetry. The most obvious characteristics of their works were, therefore, altogether different from what would have been expected from their natural endowments. The poet most inclined to the practical and the material became the more exalted in his style of composition. The one who lived in the ideal world of art is, for many persons, too natural. Each hindered the other from falling into extremes ; and accordingly, the lofty and often profound Schiller has been more generally admired, while the plainer and essentially more popular Goethe has been appropriated

by the aristocratic class of society. He who in his aims had the most reference to men, has remained the favorite of women and youth; but he who abode in perennial youth has satisfied best the wants of man. The one who was all form and spirit pleased the people; but the one who both sought and gave more of matter delighted the cultivated few, who are better able to appreciate form. The genius apparently the most richly endowed has been confined within a narrower circle of influence; and the one apparently less gifted has found a more extensive one; — as Goethe himself said, if Schiller was generally esteemed less rich and productive, it was because his spirit streamed forth into all life, furnishing nutriment to, and supplying the deficiencies of, all men. Accordingly, the lines of the capacious nature of both cross each other in directions so various, that it is only when thus bound together, that they present us with one entire whole, in which we ought, without division, to delight and edify ourselves, as was, indeed, the intention of the men themselves."

Here we are compelled to pause; and, however reluctant, to pass by, unnoticed, many of the brilliant authors whose names emblazon the page of recent German literature; — the mystical Novalis (Frederic von Hardenberg), who aimed at nothing less than to breathe the spirit of poetry into all literature, science, and life, ; the noble, though passive, and somewhat feminine, genius of the Schlegels, who laid the foundations of the new science of literary history; Tieck, the humorous and romantic reproducer of the fable of the Middle Ages; Fouqué, to whom we are indebted for the popular romance of "Undine," the delight of youth; Körner, him of the lyre and sword, who in the cause of his country's freedom both sang and bled; Uhland, whose mediæval ballads have produced the happiest effects upon recent German poetry, and whose songs of liberty and patriotism stand like a phalanx, firm amid the changes of literature; and, finally, Frederick Rückert, who may be cited as the representative of the new Minnesong, whose power of rhythm is incomparable, whose imagery glows with all the gorgeousness of the Orient, and whose sweet, musical lyrics are even inferior to his profound, though light and airy, epigrams.

Gervinus closes his history with the death of Goethe. Since that event, German poetry has degenerated, and become technical in form, and subjective in spirit. The foun-

tains of poetic inspiration are sealed up ; and nothing short of some great national convulsion, that shall break up the foundations of the present spiritual dynasty, will ever suffice to reopen them. There must be a new development of German life ; the practical, as well as the ideal, side of the national character must be built up ; there must arise some political Luther to introduce into the trades the freedom which is so largely enjoyed in religion, and so to modify the civil polity of the land, as to give to the German in future as ample liberty to act, as for the last half century he has had to think. Then first will our eyes be greeted with the dawn of another golden age of German poesy, of a poetic future which may be more spiritual, without presenting less of material beauty, than the past ; in which the reflection of years may be added to the passion of youth ; and wherein, we may believe, will be harmoniously blended the various elements of all preceding literary epochs, — the valor of the ancient bards with the love of the sweet singers of chivalry, the religion of Klopstock with the gayety of Wieland, the nationality of Lessing with the universality of Herder, and the soul of Schiller's verse with the form of Goethe's.

Art. V. — 1. *State Stocks and Revenues, comprising Statistical Tables of the Stocks, Debts, Expenditures, and Revenues of each of the United States.* New York. 1841. pp. 8.

2. *Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, on the Subject of the Five Million Loan Bonds.* February, 1843.

3. *Message of Governor McNutt to the Legislature of the State of Mississippi.* January, 1841.

4. *Message of Governor Porter to the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania.* January, 1843.

These documents are connected with a subject of great public importance. Disgrace has fallen upon the people of this country in the eyes of the civilized world, and it becomes us to inquire how far we deserve it, how far it is unmerited, by what means we can justly relieve ourselves from it, and

what are to be the consequences of our continuing in the wrong. We believe that some injustice has been done by public opinion, and some needless alarm felt by those most directly interested, either through ignorance of the facts, or because they have been considered only in a hurried and imperfect manner. We have no doubt, also, that evil principles have been disseminated, and false ideas of duty and policy presented to the people, in connexion with this interesting subject, and that these can be effectually exposed only by discussion. We propose, therefore, to state the facts, as we suppose they really exist, and to examine some of the principles connected with the subject.

At the beginning of the year 1830, the States of this Union were in debt only for about $ 13,000,000. During the next seven years, the greater part of the present debt was contracted; and the State governments laid the foundation for the residue, by authorizing loans, and commencing public works upon which the money was to be expended.

These seven years formed one of the most extraordinary financial periods — perhaps the most extraordinary one — the world has ever seen, and nowhere were its character and effects so fully exhibited as in this country. It may not, therefore, prove uninteresting to trace rapidly the causes which led to this remarkable state of things in the United States. Great injustice has been done to the American people by leaving out of view the general state of financial affairs at the time when their debts were contracted, and when some of the States failed to pay the interest which was due.

The peace of 1815 found Europe, and, to some extent, this country also, exhausted by the wars which were then terminated. Great public debts had been created; population had been kept down by the drain upon it for the armies; production was diminished, and commerce had but a feeble life. The habits and pursuits of the people had so long been formed to a state of war, that time was requisite to allow the general peace of the world to produce its effects. This change, however, soon began to be accomplished, and the world was not slow in obtaining the benefit of the new condition of things. Reverses more or less severe occasionally came, especially that most serious one in England, in 1825 and 1826, which was felt in this country also. But, on the whole,

the affairs of all commercial and manufacturing countries were in a hopeful state. Wealth was increasing; population was greatly multiplied; production was enlarged still faster than population; and the general condition of man in most civilized countries was constantly improving. We felt some checks during the period between 1815 and 1829, but they were beneficial rather than injurious, for they tended to keep the country in a sober and calm state, and to make men industrious and economical, without seriously impairing their resources. When General Jackson became President, in 1829, there was a general and well grounded belief, that the financial affairs of the country were prosperous, and that we were in a condition to go forward with accelerated speed.

In 1834, the last instalment of our public debt was paid. No more money went out of the country through this channel. This was an event of great importance to the country, and certainly its importance was not inadequately estimated either at home or abroad. Here, the party newspapers made the most of it with the people, in order to obtain credit for the preceding administrations which had planned it, and for the existing administration by which it had been accomplished. Abroad, it was considered very striking from its novelty; for we were the first, and are still the only, nation in modern times, which has ever wholly freed itself from debt. This fact tended to raise the spirits of the country, to give the people great confidence in their resources, and to incite them to large undertakings.

During this period, our manufactures increased much; and a beneficial change was taking place in an important branch of commerce. Instead of sending little or nothing but specie beyond the Cape of Good Hope, wherewith to purchase agricultural and manufactured products, our own manufactures began not only to supply our own wants to a great extent, but to be carried elsewhere. A new course of trade was thus opened, a good market being provided for the products of our own labor, and the money was kept at home which was formerly sent abroad to buy those of other nations.

At the same time, another important change was taking place in trade. Under the old system, large amounts of specie were carried to China, to the East Indies, and to

South America, for the purchase of cargoes. Much of this same specie, sooner or later, found its way to London, or to places where it was under the immediate control of the merchants and bankers of that city. It thus performed long and hazardous voyages, at great expense, and wholly without necessity. The transportation of money in this form, to some extent, is necessary. The laws of trade require it to be carried from one country to another to settle balances of account; and it must go from a place where it is less, to one where it is more valuable. But to carry it to the East Indies, and pay it to a merchant there who the next week sends it to London, creates an expense of freight, interest, and insurance, without necessity. This is so plain in principle, as to have given rise, long ago, to the practice and laws of bills of exchange; but it was reserved for the period of which we are now speaking to give the fullest effect to this practice in this country, by establishing, in our principal commercial cities, agents of merchants and bankers resident in London, with authority to grant letters of credit to a merchant about to send abroad for a cargo. By virtue of such a letter, the master, or supercargo, or some merchant at the port of destination, is authorized to draw bills of exchange on the merchant or banker in London for a specified amount, and with these bills, or their proceeds, when sold in the market of the place, the cargo is purchased. The borrowing merchant, on his part, agrees to place funds in London wherewith to meet the bills at maturity. It is obvious, that this arrangement, besides saving large risks and expenses, must set free a great amount of capital. If employed only in safe and legitimate transactions, it would release for a considerable period all the capital necessary for them. But its effects did not stop here. At a period when confidence was rising and profits seemed certain, this new arrangement began to be resorted to as a new mode of obtaining means with which to trade; while, at the same time, the general confidence and the apparent prosperity made it very easy to obtain bills. Credit to an immense amount was thus created, and our whole commerce felt the stimulating effects of this new cause.

While this change was taking effect, the war between the government of the United States and the Bank of the United States was carried on; the public deposits were removed

from that bank to State banks ; and in anticipation of the time when the charter of that institution would expire, local banks were chartered all over the country. In seven years, from 1830 to 1837, the nominal capital of these banks was increased from one hundred and ten millions of dollars to two hundred and twenty-five millions. Paper money multiplied still faster. This increase had a necessary effect on prices. The ease with which money was obtained, and the apparent profit from its use, led to the multiplication of engagements of all kinds and to every form of speculation, to an amount, which, if it could be correctly ascertained, would, even now, fill us with astonishment.

If we add, that, while these causes were in full operation, and were gradually working together to produce their natural effects, some of the States began to receive and expend the great sums of money they had obtained upon loan, and that our own country, in its agriculture and other important resources, had been making a real and great progress, while other countries, and especially England, were in a similar state of excitement, and were constantly reacting on us, — if we add all these circumstances together, we shall have little cause to wonder, that the American people were brought into that most extraordinary condition in which their public debts were contracted. Former times may have exhibited as great madness, but it reached fewer persons. At no other period did the wild spirit of adventure become epidemic over so many countries, till it seemed to affect the whole world. At this time, commerce and manufactures had largely increased. Wealth had been both accumulated and diffused to an extent before unknown. Wonderful improvements in the means of communication, across wide seas and through great continents, had brought all civilized, and especially all commercial, men within one common atmosphere of sentiment and opinion. A long and unbroken peace, in whose sunshine population had increased, and production been stimulated, and private enterprise suffered to act freely, incited men to large undertakings. Some, who in former times would have found occupation, suited to their daring tempers, in the field, embarked their recklessness in commerce; others, whose rashness, under ordinary circumstances, would have been soon checked by disaster, or prevented from showing itself by want of means, found that their energy and love of

adventure had made them leaders ; and others still, whose fears would have been roused by danger, lost all hesitation in the general confidence. Men acted as if a short and secure road to wealth had been discovered, on which all might travel, and he who went the fastest would be the first to reach the desired end. The result was such a morbid tendency to excess in all financial affairs, as had never before been witnessed. In those countries where the currency was bank paper, the quantity of money in circulation was enormously increased. Partly in consequence of this increase, and partly on account of the sanguine hopes of men, prices continued to rise. All uses of capital seemed to be followed by certain and large returns, and men were therefore eager to borrow. All pursuits appeared to be safe and prosperous, and therefore those who had money were desirous to lend it. So much security was felt, that little security was asked ; and to obtain money, nothing more was necessary than to show the lender, that it was to be employed in some magnificent scheme, which stood well with the large expectations of the time, and was in season with the glorious summer of men's hopes.

At this same period, and partly in consequence of this extraordinary state of things, there arose in this country a vehement desire to construct great public works, chiefly such as facilitate and promote internal communication.* We do not mean to say, that the desire was then new. The people of this country are far too sagacious, not to have discovered, before that time, the great value of such works, and the extraordinary natural opportunities for them presented by this continent. They have not much taste for cathedrals and palaces, but "the useful magnificence of roads and bridges" excites their admiration. They knew well enough, that a canal or a railroad, piercing a great tract of country, was of immense importance to them. They quite comprehended its objects, and did not underestimate

* It would seem, that contracting public debts for such objects was a new thing, for M. Say lays it down, as one of his principles, that, "There is this grand distinction between an individual borrower and a borrowing government, that, in general, the former borrows capital for the purpose of its beneficial employment, the latter for the purpose of barren consumption and expenditure. Nations *never* borrow but with a view to consume outright."

its effects ; and when their hopes had been raised, and their judgment somewhat disordered by the fever in their veins, and they saw the means of accomplishing these great objects not only within reach, but almost thrust into their hands, it is not strange that they seized upon them with incautious eagerness, and expended them with a prodigality somewhat in proportion to the ease with which they were obtained.

We repeat, therefore, that great injustice must be done to the people of this country, if the general state of men's minds and of financial affairs is left out of view in considering the subject of their indebtedness. They have been rash, but it was at a time when rashness was epidemic. They have been improvident, but it was when prudence was generally considered little better than narrow-minded timidity. Their fault may have been very great, but it was very general, and it was a fault of which the creditor largely partook with the debtor. If it was rash and improvident in them to borrow, it was rash and improvident in others to lend ; for, in these cases, the lenders had almost as good means of knowing the grounds of credit as the borrowers had. The borrowers were States, whose resources and means of payment are necessarily made public, so that all may know them. The works on which the money was to be expended were public works ; their character and purposes were known ; and when the loan was obtained for a specific and declared object, which it often was, the reasonableness and the probable results of the undertaking were open to the judgment of all intelligent men. In our opinion, it was the duty of the lender to exercise his judgment on these points. It is reasonable to expect, that creditors will not only be vigilant, but suspicious ; for those qualities naturally grow out of the relation of debtor and creditor when it is formed, and they spring up whenever an attempt is made to form it. The fears of creditors, and of those who are asked to become creditors, not seldom lead to untrue judgments and harsh constructions, which are not to be blamed, because they contribute to the general safety. But when we find rashness where we had a right to expect caution, and a blind confidence in place of a careful examination into means and plans, we cannot doubt, that the general infatuation must thereby be increased, and that they who have departed so widely from the qualities which usually belong to their position have done much to produce the mischief.

Let us not be misconstrued into saying one word that tends to affect the legal and moral obligation of any contract made under these circumstances. What we have said does not touch that obligation. The parties were competent to make contracts. The borrowers were free States, whose public acts were done by the responsible agents and immediate representatives of the whole people. Of course, it is not intended to intimate, that such a degree of infatuation might exist as would relieve one of the parties from the obligation of its contracts. This would be to stultify a sovereign State; a process which would certainly be entirely new in the history of public law, and one to which, it is presumed, no State would very willingly submit. Our remarks have no reference to the binding force of the contracts. They are applicable, not to the will to pay, but to the ability to pay. They tend to excuse *insolvency*, not *fraud*. They present some reasons why a people, who admit their indebtedness, may, at the same time, without dishonor, admit their inability to make payment. It is often dangerous to run too close a parallel between public and private duties. The rules for the conduct of States and of individuals are not identical, though it is not always easy to see just where they differ. But in this matter, we can perceive no distinction between the case of an upright and well-meaning man, who cannot pay his debts, and a State which is in the like predicament. The mere fact of insolvency furnishes no ground for inferring bad faith, or even bad judgment. The circumstances under which the debts were contracted, and especially the inducements which led to them, must be taken into the account, before any decision unfavorable to the debtor can justly be made. And if it is found, that a State has been led astray partly by the insane confidence of its creditors, those creditors must bear some of the blame which always attaches to unsuccessful rashness.

There is another fact, which it is important to keep in view. The real prosperity of the States at the time when these debts were contracted, especially when seen under the bright sunshine which then rested upon all things, was a cause, and, to a great extent, a just cause, of confidence. Their progress in every thing which makes a people great, and powerful, and rich, had been unexampled. Look at their population; in thirty years, it had increased from seven

millions to seventeen millions. This increase took place, not in a country already overstocked, and where the means of employment and subsistence are constantly sought after by those who are too numerous to be supplied ; but in a country wide enough to afford ample room ; fertile to produce the means of subsistence ; full of all natural resources to invite and reward enterprise ; governed by laws that left the freest scope for the energies of the people. Let it be borne in mind, also, that this people came from that Northern stock, which has always been so full of vigor ; that they have a hereditary right to energy of character ; and that, in this New World, they have been so stimulated by the opportunities and wants of their country as to be incapable of idleness, — finding no satisfaction but in exertion, and no rest, so to speak, but in continual labor.

The results have corresponded to the causes. The domestic produce of the country exported in 1824 was of the value of $ 50,000,000 ; in 1830, it was $ 107,000,000. The post-office received and expended, in 1837, about $ 4,000,000 ; and in 1830, only $ 2,000,000 ; it carried the mail, in 1836, over 32,000,000 of miles of post-roads, though in 1830, it carried them over only 14,500,000 miles ; and in 1800, the distance was only about 3,000,000 of miles. Our manufactures had been created, and a great amount of capital had been invested in them. They had been extended, till they were capable of supplying nearly all our own wants, and many of those of foreign nations. In some articles, they had reached a point where they were above foreign competition ; in others, they were fast approaching it. Regarded at first as hostile to commerce, on account of the restrictions which were partly designed to encourage them, they were now beginning to pay the debt which they had owed to foreign trade, by furnishing some of its safest exports.

But these things, important as they are, give only a faint idea of what our people had accomplished. The stories of the old poets concerning heroes, who built cities by the shore of the sea, and, by their own mighty energies and the direct assistance of divine power, created states, that were secured by laws, supplied by industry, and adorned with the arts of life, do not sound incredible or strange in our ears.

In the lifetime of one generation, we have seen an extent of wilderness that seemed illimitable divided into cultivated farms ; solitary inland seas made glad with the presence of an active and prosperous commerce ; great rivers, whose waters formerly reflected only the shadows of the forest, running by the luxurious abodes of civilized men, and bearing the varied products of labor ; cities, which are already worthy of the name, filled with an industrious and intelligent population, springing up in the solitary places ; nay, great states, whose people are reckoned by millions, brought into existence and established during this short period.

What wonder, then, that such a people should have felt confidence in their resources ? They knew their means had been sufficient to accomplish things which the rest of the world looked upon as impossible. They knew, that the tide of prosperity had been rising so fast, that it had borne every thing along with it. Is it strange, that they should have been led astray by hope, and brought into the midst of difficulty by want of caution ? Let us, then, be just to ourselves. Let us not sit down under the imputation, that no more wisdom was to be expected from a government of the people. We deny that more wisdom was to be expected of *any* government in similar circumstances. Such mistakes are not new. Other governments have done such things before, and with far less excuse.

We do not, however, acquit some of the States of all blame for contracting such great debts. They acted incautiously, and bitterly have they repented of it. But we do maintain, that, when the circumstances under which the debts were contracted, and the objects for which the supplies were thus obtained, are fairly examined, those governments will not be found exposed to the severe censure which they have incurred. Being human, they were imperfect. Success is the sole test with common minds. They who are wiser will look at the causes of failure, and see whether these are such as ought reasonably to have been foreseen.

It is easy for observers to see now, that the unnatural state of things which existed in 1835 and 1836 could not long continue. A few sagacious men, so placed as to be able to survey the whole field of commerce, saw this at the time ; though we doubt if any one understood, or even conjectured, how extensive the malady was. Even these

few began at last to doubt, whether they, or all the rest of mankind, were mad. The bubble was so strong, and lasted so well, that it seemed almost impossible that it should be a bubble.

But at last, the fixed laws of trade began to produce their long deferred, but necessary, effects. Contracts of all kinds had multiplied to such an extent, that a great deal of money was wanted to fulfil them. Prices were so high, that much more money was needed to effect the transfer of property than in the ordinary state of the market. In the midst of the greatest apparent prosperity, there was a great demand for money. The supply had increased enormously, but it was not sufficient. The banks did their utmost, but they could not keep up to the demand. Money became scarcer and dearer. There was now a choice among borrowers, and a discrimination between those whose credit rested on something, and those whose credit had no solid support. It was difficult for any one to get money. Many could not get it at all, and failures began to take place. The process went on, and confidence fell lower, and failures were multiplied daily.

It may here be remarked, that, if the Bank of England had curtailed its issues early in 1836, a check would have been felt, which would probably have gradually reduced our headlong speed, and prevented the great calamity of a failure of all our banks. The managers of that bank certainly had the means of knowing, that prices, both in England and the United States, and especially in the latter country, were inflated most unnaturally ; that fictitious credit to an immense amount had been created, and was constantly increasing ; that speculative engagements were enormously multiplied, and that there was a constant drain of specie from Great Britain. Notwithstanding all this, the bank continued to extend its engagements until August, 1836, when, finding its specie slipping rapidly away, it began to fear for its own safety. Still its course was rather vacillating for several months, until it finally gave a decisive blow, by stopping the credit and cutting off the facilities of several of the American banking-houses in London. These banking-houses were, therefore, obliged to call on our merchants for immediate payment, and our merchants required specie from the banks wherewith to make payments. At that moment, no ordinary supply of specie could have prevented a suspension of payment by

the banks. The immediate issue of more than a million sterling of bonds of the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania, designed to serve as remittances, had no perceptible effect. There was very little real exchange to meet the great and pressing want. Exchange based on credit had ceased to exist; nothing remained but to send specie, and of course it could not be obtained in the great sums which were needed, without causing all the banks sooner or later to fail.

But it should be remembered, that this suspension took place, not in a state of exhaustion, but after years of unexampled gains, and after the country had made real and great advances in all its permanent sources of wealth. The fearful rate at which we had been moving rendered some check inevitable; but we had been all the time moving onward, and mainly in the right direction. The check was sudden and violent. It stopped us short, and we stood still. For some months, all the energies of the country were employed in liquidating and paying debts. It is speaking within bounds, to say, that, within a few months, engagements amounting to many hundreds of millions were paid off. Imports almost ceased, our crops went to market, specie flowed in, and, at the end of the year 1837, our foreign commercial debt was nearly paid.

The country was then in a condition to resume the payment of specie through its banks. But the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, and some other great institutions, were not ready. During the years of high prices, they had lent their capital on paper which rested only on the exaggerated and unreal values of that period; and an immediate return to specie payments would have shown, that their capital had been very seriously impaired. The United States Bank of Pennsylvania, therefore, at first opposed the resumption of specie payments; and subsequently, when compelled to come into the arrangement, it seems to have adopted the bold measure of attempting to bring back the unnatural state of things which had existed before May, 1837; hoping, that, by means of high prices and unlimited credit, it might be able gradually to withdraw itself from its dangerous position. It entered largely into the purchase of State stocks, speculations in cotton, and other transactions. It was impossible, in the nature of things, that this scheme

should succeed ; but it had some effect. Many began to think that the reverses of 1837 were small affairs, and that they were already overcome ; that the disease was cured, and the patient restored to a sound state and ready for action. Our foreign commercial debt had been paid with so much promptness, that European capitalists formed a very high opinion both of our resources and our honor, and they took the stocks of the States as freely as if they had been gold and silver.

But the day of calamity was again at hand. The Bank of England again found itself in a critical condition. Money became scarce, beyond all precedent, in England ; prices fell ; stocks were unsalable ; the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania again stopped payment, and its example was followed by every bank south of Philadelphia. Men's eyes were at last opened. They saw, that the country had not recovered from the effects of the years of speculation, and that the attempts to return to a false position had but increased their difficulties. A panic succeeded. All property seemed for a time to have lost its value. These were necessary results of the former distempered state of affairs, and this depression was the only method by which a sound condition of things could be produced. But it was a severe operation.

In some of the new States, it was difficult even for the wealthy to obtain money for the daily uses of life. We have heard of farmers, owning large and well stocked farms, who could hardly get money enough to pay the postage on a letter. They had scarcely any currency, and most of that which they had was bad. In the commercial States, matters were but little better. Failures were almost innumerable. Trade had fallen off, and, when prosecuted, was hazardous. A deep gloom settled upon men's minds. Governments felt it as much as individuals. Their ordinary resources were diminished. Their means of obtaining extraordinary supplies were lessened in proportion to the general distress. The physical means of making payment of their debts were wanting in some States, for there was no money to be had. The people were amazed at the extent of their own disasters, and afraid to act in any way, lest they should run into new mistakes. In was in such a posture of affairs, that some of the States, to which we shall more particularly refer,

refused, and others omitted, to provide for the interest which had become payable on their debts.

The first of these cases which we shall notice is that of Pennsylvania. On the first of August, 1842, the interest on its funded debt became due and was not paid. It having been foreseen, that there would be no money in the treasury with which to meet the dividend, amounting to eight hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars, an act was passed by the legislature, directing the treasurer to borrow the sum necessary for its payment, and, in the event of his being unable to obtain it on the terms proposed, authorizing the issue of certificates, to the persons entitled to dividends of interest, for the sums due to them, payable in August, 1843, with interest at the rate of six *per cent.* A law was subsequently passed, authorizing the issue of certificates in payment of the two succeeding dividends, bearing interest at the rate of six *per cent. per annum*, and redeemable in August, 1846. These certificates, with the interest which has accrued upon them, are yet unpaid.

The whole amount of the funded debt of this State on the first of January, 1843, was $ 37,937,788·24, payable at different periods, and in different sums, the last of which will fall due in the year 1870.* The internal improvements, for the construction of which the great bulk of the debt is due, consist of seven hundred and ninety-three miles of rail-ways and canals which are completed, and one hundred and forty miles of canals in progress and nearly completed in January last. The principal work, or rather chain of works, is that be-

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* This debt was contracted for the following purposes :

For canals and rail-ways,	$ 30,533,629·15
To pay interest on the public debt,	4,410,135·03
For the use of the treasury,	1,571,689·00
Turnpike, State roads, &c.,	930,000·00
Union Canal,	200,000.00
Eastern Penitentiary,	120,000·00
Franklin Rail-road,	100,000·00
Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal,	50,000,00
Insane Asylum,	22,335·06
	37,937,788·24
To this may now be added the amount of certificates authorized to be issued in payment of the last two semi-annual dividends of interest, amounting to	1,787,454·89
Making a total of	$ 39,725,243·13

tween Philadelphia and Pittsburg, extending nearly the whole length of the State, a distance of three hundred and ninety-five miles, and connecting the Atlantic with the Ohio River and the great Western waters.

These are the objects on which far the greatest part of the money borrowed by the State has been expended. It is manifest, that such works must be highly important and useful to Pennsylvania, independently of the revenues which they may yield. From various causes, which our limits do not permit us to notice, these revenues have thus far disappointed the expectations of the people. But the Governor presented to the legislature, in January last, a very encouraging account of the income from the works during the year then just elapsed, and facts may be cited which go far to prove, that the profit which the State will hereafter derive from them must be very great.

Pennsylvania contains 1,724,000 free people, inhabiting a territory of 47,000 square miles. The soil is generally fertile, and, being under good cultivation, the amount of its agricultural products is very great. Their annual value was estimated in 1842 to be $ 126,620,617. The manufactures during the same period, including iron, were estimated at upwards of $ 64,000,000. The coal mined in the State during the same time was worth about $ 9,000,000. It appears, then, that the annual products of the State amount to the enormous value of $ 200,000,000. The annual charge upon the State for the interest upon its debts is, in round numbers, $ 2,000,000. Suppose the public works were to yield no revenue at all, and the whole of this charge were to fall on the people in a direct tax ; it is only one *per cent.* on their annual products. A capitation tax of one dollar a head would nearly pay it. Of course, no burden of debt can be pronounced heavy or light except by comparing it with the resources and means of the debtor, and such a comparison will show, that Pennsylvania is not heavily burdened. Her vast and easily wrought mines of the best kinds of coal, lying side by side with inexhaustible treasuries of the richest iron ore, her abundant supply of water-power, her fertile soil, temperate climate, and industrious and frugal population, are resources so immense, that even her great debt appears but a light incumbrance. There cannot be the smallest doubt, that she is able, without the least embarrassment, to fulfil all

her engagements. It is a lamentable fact, that she has not done so ; but there has been a concurrence of causes to produce this result, most of which have no connexion with the honesty of her people. We deny, that any man has the right to say, that Pennsylvania has acted fraudulently. Mistakes in judgment have been committed, and we are sorry to add, that there has been some remissness of conduct. There has, also, been clearly shown a disposition to do right. The measures taken by the legislature to raise the necessary revenue, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, have proved insufficient ; but they were adopted for that purpose, and were such as not fairly to be open to the charge of being mere pretences. Besides raising more than $300,000 for the support of the schools, the ordinary expenses of the government are fully provided for by taxes of some years' standing. In addition to these, which are indirect taxes, the legislature voted a direct tax of one mill upon every dollar of taxable property in the State, and by a law passed in 1842, which was designed to go into effect in 1843, this tax was doubled. The produce of the first-mentioned tax of one mill was about half a million of dollars, and if another half million were raised by the law last mentioned, as the legislature designed to do, the sum, together with the revenue actually realized from the public works, would pay about nine tenths of the interest on the funded debt. But there was some ambiguity in the law, and in some counties advantage was taken of the doubt thus created to avoid payment of the tax. This is one of the embarrassments in the details of a law which often occur in practice ; but it will undoubtedly be remedied by further legislation. The State has also had a large unfunded debt, due chiefly to contractors on the public works ; and to the payment of this sum the revenues of the State have been applied. We understand, that this unfunded debt is now paid, and that, for the future, the revenues from direct taxation and the public works will be applicable to the payment of the interest on the State stock. We have already said, that they will be sufficient to pay about nine tenths of it, and, if the income from the public works should not increase, it will only be needful to provide for the arrears of interest since August, 1842, and for the remaining tenth part of the interest hereafter to accrue. Those who know Pennsylvania entertain no great doubt respecting her future

course ; and the moment the State shows a determination to pay punctually, there will not be the smallest difficulty in obtaining, by a permanent loan, the means of paying the arrears of interest.

Maryland is another delinquent State, which has failed, during the last two years, to make payment of the interest on her public debt. The bonds of this State which have been issued amount to a little more than $ 15,000,000, but of these about $ 3,175,000, issued to the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, have not been negotiated, and should they be negotiated, the interest on them will be paid by the company. Of the residue, nearly $ 1,300,000 are the property of the State, having been purchased by the income of the sinking fund. These bonds are subject to different rates of interest, the greater part being at five *per cent.*, and the whole interest, after deducting what goes to the sinking fund, amounting to something less than $ 600,000 a year.

The whole of this debt, with the exception of $ 215,947, was contracted for purposes of internal improvement, partly by subscriptions to stock in canal and rail-road companies, on account of the State, and partly by grants, in the form of loans, to such companies, they being bound to pay the interest on the bonds, and ultimately to repay the principal, — the works of the said companies being mortgaged for the security of the respective debts. In making these large advances, and entering into these engagements, the legislature of the State relied upon the income of the works to meet the interest of the debt. In this expectation they have been disappointed. The Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road alone has made an adequate return for the expenditure. The sum of $ 1,022,000, invested in the stocks of this rail-road, earns an income of seven *per cent. per annum.* The sum of $ 2,232,000, invested in the bonds and stock of the Baltimore and Susquehannah Rail-road, has made some small return, and there is a prospect, that the income from this source will slightly increase. On $ 1,000,000, loaned to the Susquehannah Tide-water Canal, no return has yet been received ; but it is confidently anticipated, that this canal will shortly be able to pay the interest on the loan, amounting to $ 55,000 *per annum.* The largest investments have been made in the stocks and bonds of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal company. This canal being yet unfinished, and requiring a fur-

ther sum of a million and a half or two millions of dollars to complete it, no income is expected from it, until the means shall be found to raise that sum, and extend the canal to the coal-mines near Cumberland. Some smaller advances, which have been made to other companies, are not expected to make any return. The annual income, therefore, which can be, for the present, anticipated from the public works, is limited to about $ 150,000. The residue of the interest, amounting to about $ 450,000, must, therefore, be met by taxation. A direct tax, sufficient for this object, was voted by the legislature ; but in consequence of the severe embarrassments of the last three years, and of the want of a proper system for the collection of direct taxes, a large proportion of the taxes for the years 1841, 1842, and 1843 has been suffered to fall in arrear, and in consequence, the means of the treasury have been inadequate to the payment of the interest on the debt. From January, 1842, this interest has not been paid, except that for some part *coupons* have been issued, promising payment at a future day, and receivable in payment of taxes. For the restoration of the credit of the State, it is necessary that the arrears of interest should be provided for, which can be done in the manner spoken of in the case of Pennsylvania, and by enforcing a more prompt payment of taxes. The taxes already levied appear to be fully sufficient for this object, if collected. Maryland has other revenues, independent of the direct taxes, amply sufficient for meeting all the other expenditures of the State. These taxes, to nearly the whole amount now levied, will be necessary to pay the interest on the debt, until an income shall be derived from the large investments in the loans or stocks of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and Susquehannah Rail-road and for this purpose these taxes must be enforced. As levied by the legislature, they amount to twenty-five cents upon every hundred dollars of taxable property in the State. We do not say this is a trifling burden. It requires resolution to sustain it. But the case presents every motive which can operate upon the minds of honorable men to induce them to make the effort. The money was borrowed by *their* agents. It has been expended upon *their* soil. Its results, thus far, may not be such as they desire ; but for this their own agents, and they themselves, who selected those agents, and from year to year

sanctioned their proceedings, are alone to be blamed. The debt is a just debt. They *can*, and they *will* pay it. We look upon the position and future conduct of this State as of the greatest importance to the honor, the credit, and the future reputation of the whole country. It occupies a position, and is placed in circumstances, which render its action almost decisive of the fate of this great question of public morals. Pennsylvania can pay, almost without an effort. Her debt is really nothing compared with her resources. Indiana and Illinois are differently situated, and at present cannot pay. Maryland occupies an intermediate position. She *can* pay, but it costs her a strong effort to do so. Her condition is such as to try her sense of honor. Hers is the opportunity to settle the question, whether a popular government is too selfish to be just. Her people have it in their power to say to the world, "We are capable of governing ourselves, for we can make sacrifices for the sake of duty and honor; no human power can force them upon us, but we freely make them. We owe allegiance neither to kings, nor princes, nor to any earthly potentate; but we obey His will who created us, and we are governed by His laws. Freely and cheerfully, because we know it to be our duty, will we do this thing." Let the people of Maryland remember, also, that, if they make this effort, they will transmit to their children the inheritance of an untarnished honor; that they will lay the foundations of public prosperity deep and strong in the public faith; that the sacrifices which they are now called upon to make cannot long be necessary, and will grow less with the increase of population and wealth, and the rising income from the public works. That they may see these things, and act as if they saw them, is the earnest wish of many who love their country, and think that its honor and welfare are deeply involved in the issue.

The miserable sophistry, for we can call it by no better name, with which some have attempted to delude the people of Maryland into a belief, that their legislature had not the constitutional power to contract these debts, would not be worthy of a moment's attention, if the subject on which it is employed were not of such importance. There is an article in the Bill of Rights of this State of the following tenor: "Every person in the State ought to contribute his proportion of public taxes *for the support of government*, accord-

ing to his actual worth in real and personal property." The argument is, that the legislature has power to tax the people *only* "for the support of government"; that the construction of rail-roads and canals is not one of the legitimate objects of government, and, therefore, it is not within the constitutional power of the legislature to tax the people to make or pay for them.

We can hardly call this an ingenious argument, for ingenuity would certainly have devised something which should have the appearance of truth; but here is involved so palpable a falsehood, that it is difficult to believe it could ever impose on any body. Not one of the legitimate objects of government to build rail-ways and canals! How is this question to be settled? First of all, by the universal practice of all civilized governments. That which every civilized people, under every form of administration, has caused its government to do, may well be thought to be within the legitimate powers of a government. And what people has ever doubted, that the building of roads and bridges was a subject not only fit for the action of government, but necessarily under its *exclusive control?* Have the people of Maryland ever doubted this? Let them consult their own statutes and ordinances, and see, whether, from the first moment when they acted in a political capacity, this subject has not always been ranked among the powers which the government has exercised. Not only has this been the universal practice, but it is *absolutely requisite that the practice should continue.* Keeping open the means of communication between one part of the territory of a State and another, and affording facilities of passage for persons and property over land by means of convenient roads, and over the waters by means of bridges and ferries, is absolutely necessary. Hardly any object of civil society can be accomplished without them, and the right of *eminent domain* not only always has been, but always must be, exercised for this end. It has been seriously doubted, whether a government acts wisely in delegating this power to private corporations, even where they are held in check by the legislature; but we never heard it suggested, that a government could delegate this power without first possessing it. It is very clear, therefore, that these objectors would never have a road made, or a bridge built, or a ferry established, or a canal dug, within

the limits of their State ; — not by the government, for it is not within the powers delegated to the State ; not by those authorized by the government, for the administration certainly cannot empower a corporation or an individual to take land and other private property for a purpose which the government itself has not a right to effect. We suppose no one will be so hardy as to attempt to make a distinction between a ferry and a canal, or a bridge and a rail-road. The power of states over this subject arises from the nature of the object to be accomplished, which is, to effect an easy, cheap, and safe passage ; and, of course, it is restricted to no particular means.

The truth is, the whole argument betrays lamentable ignorance of the nature and objects of all social institutions, or it betrays something worse. The first object of government undoubtedly is, to secure its citizens from violence and wrong. But this by no means exhausts its powers, or fulfils its duties. It may do much towards the increase of knowledge, the advancement of education, both religious and secular, the progress of the sciences, the promotion of a free intercourse between communities and nations, and the increase and diffusion of wealth and comfort ; and what it can do towards these objects, securely and wisely, it is bound to do. This duty has been felt by all governments, and to some extent has been performed by all. Great public works, designed for the common benefit, and executed by the combined power of the whole people, have always been looked upon as monuments of civilization, and of the wisdom and virtue of the administration which planned them. It is now for the first time denied that they are within its legitimate powers.

Of course, we do not here refer to the national government. The question, whether the Constitution of the United States gives the power to construct roads within the States, is an open and difficult one ; but it has nothing to do with the subject here discussed. It turns, not on the general question, whether such works are legitimate objects for the action of government, but on the question, whether this power is granted in the Constitution of the United States. The question in Maryland is exactly the opposite ; namely, Has this power been taken away from the legislature by the

Bill of Rights? It must exist, unless it was abrogated by the article we have already quoted.

The word *repudiation*, in the sense in which it is now commonly used, was first adopted in the State of Mississippi. It occurred, for the first time, we believe, in the message of the Governor to the legislature of that State, in January, 1841, in which he adverts to the plan of "REPUDIATING the sale of certain of the State bonds, on account of fraud and illegality." The material facts in reference to the action of this State upon the subject of its debt are these. In 1838, the State chartered the Mississippi Union Bank, and, in order to provide capital for the institution, it was enacted in the charter, that the directors might borrow $15,500,000; and that the Governor might issue seven thousand five hundred bonds, for $2000 each, bearing five *per cent.* interest, and redeemable in twelve, eighteen, and twenty years, and deliver them to the officers of that institution from time to time, in proportion to the amounts subscribed for bank stock, the price of which was to be secured to the satisfaction of the directors. The bonds were made negotiable by the indorsement of the president and cashier of the bank. By an additional act, the Governor was authorized to subscribe, in behalf of the State, for $5,000,000 of the stock of the bank; and he did so. In June, 1838, he delivered to the bank two thousand five hundred bonds, amounting to $5,000,000, payable in twelve and twenty years from the 5th day of February, 1838, and *bearing five per cent. interest from their date.* The charter required the bank to appoint three commissioners for the sale of the bonds, and imposed this restriction on their authority, *that the bonds should not be sold under their par value.* On the 18th of August, 1838, the commissioners sold all the bonds to Mr. Biddle for the sum of $5,000,000, payable in five equal instalments, of one million each, on the 1st day of November, 1838, and the first days of January, March, May, and July, 1839, *without interest.* This money was punctually paid to the bank, which went into operation; and before January, 1841, lost all its capital.

Now we feel constrained to say, that, if this matter had rested here, the State of Mississippi would not be *legally* bound to pay this debt. We think the commissioners did not conform to their authority in making the sale. They

were, in terms, prohibited from selling the bonds *under their par value*. The par value of a bond is the amount which is due upon it ; and this includes interest as well as principal. This seems to us to be the fair meaning of the words of the charter, and any other construction would render the restriction itself nugatory ; since, by allowing the interest to accumulate long enough, the commissioners would have had it in their power to obtain $ 5,000,000 for the bonds, though at the very moment when they sold them, $ 7,000,000 might be due upon them. They made such a sale as not to receive in cash an amount equal to the liability of the State on the bonds, and therefore we believe that they exceeded their authority. We think, also, that the State had the legal right to insist at a proper time on this want of authority, even against the subsequent purchasers of these bonds ; because any one who takes a title through an agent is bound by law to look to the authority delegated to him, and to see that he acts or has acted within its scope in making the title.

But we need hardly say, that the question, whether a sovereign state shall avail itself of its *legal* rights, depends upon considerations quite distinct from the mere rights themselves. Rules of jurisprudence are necessarily general, and, being general, they may, and sometimes do, work some injustice. A state, like an individual, ought to place itself quite above these general rules, and consider only the justice of the particular case. It is due to its own dignity, to the magnitude of the case, to the importance of preserving the great fountain of power and justice pure, that the most enlarged and liberal rules of equity should be observed. It is due to its position, being both a party in interest and a judge, to venture on no decision which will admit of question. And so the State of Mississippi must have thought, for so it acted.

In responding to the message of the Governor, in January, 1841, the legislature resolved,

" *First*, That the State of Mississippi is bound to the holders of the bonds of the State, sold on account of the bank, for the amount of the principal and interest.

" *Secondly*, That the State of Mississippi *will* pay her bonds and preserve her faith inviolate.

" *Thirdly*, That the insinuation, that the State of Mississippi would repudiate her bonds and violate her plighted faith, is a calumny upon the justice, honor, and dignity of the State."

These resolves are such as might be expected from the legislature of a free state under such circumstances ; for a fact which we have not yet stated was known to that legislature, and, in our judgment, is sufficient to settle the question. The legislature met in 1839, for the first time after the sale of the bonds. *Only one fourth of the purchase money had then been paid over to the bank.* The facts were communicated by the Governor to the legislature, and they resolved : " *That the sale of the bonds was highly advantageous to the State and the bank, and in accordance with the injunctions of the charter, reflecting the highest credit on the Commissioners, and bringing timely aid to an embarrassed community.*" The next legislature, which assembled in 1840, appointed a committee on the affairs of the bank, but uttered not one word respecting the sale of the bonds.

But the constitution of Mississippi contains a provision, that no law shall be passed to raise a loan of money upon the credit of the State for the payment or redemption of any loan or debt, unless it be sanctioned by a majority of each house, the yeas and nays being entered on the journals, and be then referred to the next legislature, public notice whereof is to be given in the newspapers three months before the election ; and unless then passed by a majority in each branch of this second legislature. Upon the ground, that the State was not originally bound to pay this debt, and that the illegal acts of their agents had not been ratified by two successive legislatures, *after public notice in the newspapers*, Governor McNutt made his appeal to the people of the State, and, in 1842, a majority of the members of both branches of the legislature were found to be in favor of repudiation.

But although a majority of the people of Mississippi seem to have formed at that time an erroneous opinion on this question, and although we think meanly enough of the honesty of their advisers, we should not hastily adopt the conclusion, that the majority are hopelessly in the wrong. There has been, from the first, a large body of intelligent and honorable men in that State, who determined to do their duty upon this great question ; and they are now manfully engaged in the work. They have exhibited deep legal learning, sound logic, a clear perception of the great principles of justice and duty, and a calm determination which must

and will prevail in the contest. It may not be during this year or the next; but it appears to us certain, that the people of this State will see the truth, and act in accordance with it. Sufficient allowance has not always been made for the peculiar circumstances of the case. An intelligent foreigner, who feels a just indignation when he hears of repudiation, probably knows the difference between a Highland chieftain and a London merchant, but is profoundly ignorant that differences quite as great exist between the people of Mississippi and the people of Massachusetts. Probably there are few points in which these differences would be so likely to be exhibited as upon this matter of paying debts. To pay debts punctually is *the* point of honor among all commercial people. But the planters of Mississippi do not so esteem it. They do not feel the importance of an exact conformity to contracts. It has not been their habit to meet their engagements on the very day, if not quite convenient. Certainly, they attach no idea of dishonesty to such a course of dealing. They mean to pay, but they did not expect, when they contracted the debt, to distress themselves about the payment. If a friend wants a thousand dollars for a loan or a gift, he can have it, though perhaps a creditor wants it also. We do not mean to intimate, that there are no high qualities in such a character; but they are different from those which make good bankers and merchants; and, therefore, bankers and merchants ought not to expect such men to look at a debt just as they do. In time, they will see the substance of the matter and act accordingly. Convince them that their State is now pursuing an arbitrary, unfair, and oppressive course of conduct, and they will take care that it is pursued no longer. They have been in great pecuniary distress. Their condition has been so bad, that they have looked upon a creditor demanding payment of his debt as little better than an enemy, and to be treated accordingly. They have seen, that the institution which had the proceeds of these bonds was managed as if it had been a gambling-house. They have been told by those in whom they had been accustomed to put confidence, that the sale of these bonds was a part of the same nefarious course of conduct which ruined the bank, and that, if they should pay the debt, they must do it for the benefit of those who defrauded the State in making the purchase of the bonds. We may

deeply regret that they acted in conformity with these views. We may believe that the conduct of the State has been unwise and unfair; that it has shown any thing but that dignified caution, and that clear perception of the great principles of justice, equity, and clemency, which a sovereign state should always exhibit in its dealings with individuals, especially where it is both party and judge. But let us not show the same want of moderation, by running into extremes ourselves; let us not exhibit the same want of charity, by believing that a majority of the people of that State are knaves. Their affairs are now improving. The people are recovering from the sore and irritable state into which they had fallen. Allow time for them to see the truth, which the high-minded men of that State know so well how to exhibit and enforce, and we shall find, that, though the people may sometimes make a great mistake, they mean to do right, and they will discover and correct the error.

The State of Michigan has denied its obligation to pay a part of its outstanding bonds. The material facts are, that, by an act of the legislature of that State, passed on the 21st of March, 1837, amended by another act passed on the 15th of November in the same year, the Governor was authorized to negotiate for a loan of five millions of dollars, which was to be expended on the public works. Under this authority, the Governor, on the 1st of June, 1838, entered into a contract with the Morris Canal and Banking Company of the city of New York, by which he constituted that company the agents of the State to make sales of the five millions loan. The power of the Governor to enter into this contract with the Banking Company has not been questioned. Acting under this agency, the Banking Company, before the 15th of November, 1838, sold to various persons bonds amounting to $ 1,187,000, and duly paid over to the State the proceeds of those sales. On the 1st day of July, 1841, the interest on the bonds so sold became payable, and the State not having made provision for its payment, it remained unpaid. Reasons for this default were assigned by the legislature at a subsequent period, which seem to us to be well-founded and to afford sufficient excuse for it; but our limits will not permit us to examine or even to state them. Suffice it to say, that, in February, 1843, the legislature took the subject into consideration, declared that the State was

"legally and equitably bound to provide for the payment of the principal and interest of these bonds," covenanted with the holders to fund the interest till July, 1845, pledged the revenue from the public works to the payment of the interest which should accrue after that time, and voted a direct tax to be assessed and levied in the same manner as the other State taxes, in order to pay any deficiency of the interest which that revenue might fail to meet. Thus far the conduct of the State has been such as the country had a right to expect.

We wish it were in our power to approve of its conduct in respect to the residue of this loan, the history of which is briefly as follows. The Morris Canal and Banking Company met with great difficulties in the sale of the residue of these bonds; and being called on by the Governor, in November, 1838, to state the account of their sales, and to make such suggestions as they should think important concerning future proceedings, replied by a proposal to pass the whole amount of the bonds, at par, after deducting their commission as agents, to the credit of the State of Michigan; provided the Governor would deliver to the Banking Company the whole of the bonds at once, and take the obligation of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania to pay three fourths, and of the Morris Canal and Banking Company to pay one fourth, of the amount, at certain periods which had been fixed in the contract of agency before mentioned. To this proposal the Governor replied, that he had no objection to the details; that their contract of agency gave them full powers to act as the interest of the State required, and that they must take the responsibility of deciding whether this was the best thing that could be done for the interest of the State. The Banking Company say, in answer, that they think it is best for the State to accept the offer, which had been made, and that they have closed the bargain. The Governor afterwards delivered the bonds, took the obligations of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania and the Morris Canal and Banking Company for the price, and in his next message announced the sale to the legislature, and communicated to them the documents respecting it. *The legislature interposed no objection.* Subsequently, the State received from the purchasers about $1,000,000, in part payment of their obligations, and then the United States

Bank of Pennsylvania and the Morris Canal and Banking Company having both become insolvent, and having failed to pay the balance of the purchase money, the State declared, that it owed upon these bonds so much as the purchasers had paid, and that it was ready to issue new bonds for that amount upon the surrender of *all* the bonds so sold; and that as to the residue, "*it was a transaction between the State and the purchasers, and their agreements are to be judged of by the circumstances attending them.*"

It only remains to add, that these bonds, all of which went to the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, were pledged by that bank to various banking houses in Europe to secure money previously borrowed, money advanced at the time of making the pledges, and subsequently paid on the faith of the pledges; that the bonds are, in form and by law, negotiable; and that no evidence has ever appeared, so far as we know, that either of those banking houses had knowledge, at the time they took the bonds, or when they afterwards advanced money upon them, of any defect in the title of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania.

Now we should agree, at once, that, if the United States Bank of Pennsylvania and the Morris Canal and Banking Company held these bonds, the State might justly refuse to consider any greater amount of them as due than had been paid for. The law of all civilized countries would, in some way, come to this result. But every system of law with which we have any acquaintance, and certainly the law of Michigan, makes a distinction between the case of these banks and that of *bonâ fide* purchasers. We believe the principle to be universally admitted, that, whenever a purchaser of property *acquires a title* from the seller, which he can transmit, although that title be tainted with fraud, if he sells to a *bonâ fide* purchaser, who parts with his money, or any other thing of value, on the faith of the property, such purchaser obtains a valid title, purged of the fraud. This principle is not only well established, but society could hardly get along without it; and it is most often and most liberally applied *to the sales and transfers of negotiable securities.* That the United States Bank of Pennsylvania had a title, which it could transmit, does not admit of a doubt. The sale negotiated by the Morris Canal and Banking Company might have been open to some objection, as they were

themselves the agents to sell, and seem to have been in some way interested in the purchase ; but, surely, it is too late to object, after the Governor, who was the immediately authorized agent of the State, had, with a knowledge of all the facts, ratified the contract and delivered the bonds, and after the legislature, with all the facts before them, had interposed no objection, and had taken one third of the purchase money. The only possible question, therefore, is, whether the European bankers parted with their money in good faith ; and we are not aware of any evidence to the contrary. The legislature do not assert, that these bankers had notice, either actual or constructive, of any fact which would deprive them of the protection due to all *bonâ fide* purchasers of negotiable securities. The mere fact, that the bonds had not been paid for, even if known to the persons to whom they were pledged, would not have this effect. It would be monstrous to say, that, because property bought on credit has not been paid for, the holder cannot give a good title to it. Such a doctrine would overset half the sales made in the country. But we repeat, we have never seen any evidence, or any reason to believe, that even this fact was known to the foreign bankers. To do the legislature justice, both by their committee and by the act relating to this subject, they preserve a silence which is dignified and proper, if they have no satisfactory evidence of such notice, but believe that inquiries made afterwards may possibly elicit it. And this we understand to be their position. But even without such evidence, we cannot doubt the equitable and legal claim of the holders of these bonds to be paid what is due on them, to the extent of the amount for which they were pledged. And we add, that we entertain as little doubt, that the State of Michigan will hereafter act according to this view of the subject, and adopt in reference to these bonds the same just and honorable measures which it has already taken concerning the others.

The State of Louisiana has loaned its credit to several banking corporations, the capital stock of which was secured by mortgages on real estate. The bonds issued by this State amount to about $ 22,000,000, of which about $ 17,000,000 have been sold. They are all payable in England. The immense trade of New Orleans, the port of entry and export for the great valley of the Mississippi, and

all its tributary waters, has, for a long time, caused capital to be in great demand there ; and this method of obtaining it, by means of loans to banks whose stock is secured by mortgages of real estate, was devised about twenty years ago. These banks were well managed, and from their profits a fund was accumulating, which, before the maturity of the bonds, would have been sufficient to redeem them.

But unfortunately, New Orleans partook quite as much as any other city, and probably more than any other, of the unnatural excitement of the times, and felt, more than any other, the corresponding depression which followed. During the period of prosperity, cotton, the great staple, bore very high prices ; property of all kinds was held at values merely factitious, and, confidence being great, and credit being easily obtained, the banks discounted an immense amount of paper, which was found to be bad when the day of trial came. The consequence has been, that the resources of the banks have been very much diminished, and the assets of one or more of them may not be sufficient to pay the bonds loaned to them by the State. We do not think the deficit will be large. Our limits do not allow us to state their condition particularly ; suffice it to say, that, if they are judiciously managed, we believe they can pay so large an amount of the bonds loaned to them, as to leave only a small sum to be paid by the State.

In no part of the United States are there men of higher honor, and greater intelligence respecting financial affairs, than in Louisiana. Nowhere is the necessity of preserving the public faith inviolate better known or more strongly felt. The State is gradually, but securely, rising from her great pecuniary difficulties ; property is attaining its just and safe value ; capital is again increasing rapidly, and, almost before they people are aware of it, they will again be in a prosperous condition. It is a high and clear duty of the people of this State to watch vigilantly over their crippled banks ; to see that their assets are honestly applied to the payment of the bonds ; and to adopt such legislative measures as shall secure and preserve the faith of the State towards its creditors, and procure for themselves again the use of the foreign capital which they so much need.

We regret, that there should be any thing in the legislation of Louisiana upon this subject to require comment ; but we

feel bound to say, that an act passed at the last session of the legislature, in reference to the liquidation of the affairs of some of the banks, is open to very serious objection. The act we refer to was passed on the 5th of April, 1843, and provides, that all debts due to the banks in question may be paid in State bonds issued by the banks, which bonds are to be received in payment at par. It must be borne in mind, that the capital stock of these banks consisted of the obligations of those who subscribed for the stock to pay the sums for which they subscribed, secured by mortgages on real estate ; and before these bonds were issued, it was provided by law, that these obligations of the stockholders, together with the mortgages by which they were secured, should be deposited in the offices of the banks *for safe keeping, and as a guaranty for the reimbursement of the principal and interest of the bonds to be issued by the State ;* and that all the hypothecary obligations, of whatever nature, subscribed by individuals in favor of the banks, should stand as collateral security for the payment of the money loaned on the bonds of the State, and the interest which should accrue thereon. Now there is not the smallest doubt, that this law amounted to a contract made by the State and the banks with every bond-holder, that these mortgages should be held by the banks in trust, to secure the payment of the money loaned on the bonds. There is not a court in the country, which would hesitate so to declare upon these facts. And when the State placed these banks in liquidation, and thus took the control of their affairs, it was bound to guard this trust strictly and faithfully. It had no right to receive depreciated bonds at par, in payment for well secured debts which it held in trust for third persons. What would the law of Louisiana, or the courts of Louisiana, say to a tutor or guardian, who should receive depreciated paper in payment of a debt due to his ward, secured by mortgage ? Undoubtedly, they would say it was unfaithful administration, and would order him to make good the difference. And may the legislature itself justly do what its own laws condemn as unfaithful and unjust ? As a question of right, this matter admits of no doubt. As a question of the constitutional power of the legislature, it is equally clear. This law impairs the obligation of a plain contract between the State and the banks on the one part, and the bond-holders on

the other ; and it is therefore in conflict not only with the Constitution of the United States, but with the fundamental law of Louisiana, which prohibits the legislature from enacting any law impairing the obligation of a contract. There are other grave objections to this law, which our limits do not permit us to state.

In regard to the States of Indiana and Illinois, we have very little to say. Indiana has a debt of more than $ 13,000,000, with a population of about 700,000 souls. The amount of taxable property in the State was returned in 1840 as about $ 92,000,000. Illinois has a debt of upwards of $ 13,000,000. The population of the State was less than 500,000 in 1840. To both these States, the remark of Governor Carlin, of Illinois, in one of his messages, is applicable : " Unfortunately, at an unguarded moment, the State was allured from the path of wisdom and economy by the seductive spirit of speculation, and the wild fury of popular delusion, which spread over every part of the Union, and induced to embark in an expensive system of internal improvements, at a period when the country was literally deluged with an inflated circulating medium, which gave the semblance of success to the most visionary and chimerical enterprises." But both these States have immense natural resources, and a rapidly increasing population fully capable of developing them ; and they must become wealthy. At present, we believe, it is not in their power to comply with their engagements.

We have thus taken a rapid view of the condition of the public debt of those States which have not complied with their obligations. We find three distinct cases : States which are so deeply involved in debt, that it is out of their power at present to perform their engagements ; States whose resources and means of payment are ample, and who have never questioned the binding force of their contracts ; and States, able to pay, but refusing, upon the ground that they are not bound to pay. Each has its duties and its dangers. The duty of those first named is clear. Their excuse for not paying is their inability. This excuse, of course, relieves them from nothing which they *can* do.* It may be

* The rule and its limits are equally clear : " If the obstacle be real, time must be given, for no one is bound to an impossibility." *Vattel*, l. 4, § 51. — " Non ultra obligari quam in quantum facere potest ; et, an possit, permittendum alterius principis, qua boni viri, arbitrio." *Bynk. Q. J. P.*, l. 2, c. 10.

a sufficient reason for not at once paying *in full ;* it is no reason why they should not pay *something ;* and that something should be enough to include *all they can possibly effect.* To do less than this is to avail themselves, for their own benefit, of the misfortunes which have fallen alike upon themselves and their creditors ; it is, in fact, to commit a fraud. How much they can do, and in what ways it can best be done, the people of those States are themselves the most competent to decide. It is to be earnestly hoped, that, in making the decision, they will not forget that their own honor and the honor of the country is deeply involved in it. Their danger is, that they may postpone their measures too long. The great accumulation of interest is adding much every year to their burden. Every year they are becoming more and more accustomed to look upon the load as too heavy to be carried, and, therefore, to believe that no attempt ought to be made to lift any part of it. Such a feeling should be thrown off at once, and a manly vigor, such as the Western people are known to possess, should now be exerted.

The duty of those States which have the ability to pay, and have never questioned the obligation of their promises, is also clear. Unforeseen difficulties and disasters have prevented them from keeping the promises on which so many have relied. They have now had time to survey their difficulties ; to recover from the amazement which their great disasters caused ; to examine their resources, and select the proper means to draw from them the needed supplies. The state of the country has become greatly improved. During the last four years, the people, made wiser by adversity, have been industrious and economical. They have consumed little, and produced a great deal. They have been blessed with fruitful seasons. The bankrupt law has relieved those who were insolvent, and set them at work. Caution and honesty pervade the trade of the country. The general aspect of affairs is becoming prosperous, with a promise of security and permanency. This is the time to act on this great and urgent subject. Delay is not only dishonorable, but unwise. Every private man knows, that a state of insolvency is the most expensive of all conditions ; and this is quite as true of a commonwealth as of an individual. Its best arrangements, when in such a condition, can be only a succession of shifts to get round difficulties,

which it would be much wiser, and on the whole easier, to clear away at once.

But without regard to the expediency of this course, it ought to be, and it will be, enough for the people of Pennsylvania and Maryland, that justice requires them to pursue it. They have not fallen into repudiation. They know the difference between honor and dishonor ; and they know, also, that the honor of their government is their own. They will not fail to ask themselves the question, what difference there is between denying the obligation of a contract, and admitting its obligation, but neglecting to keep it ; between an open repudiation of a debt, and fraudulently withholding the money. They will answer this question, as all right-minded men must answer it, by admitting, that, in both cases, the same injustice is done to the creditor ; that, in both cases, the injustice is wilfully done by the debtor ; and that it is of very little consequence by what name it is called, or under the shadow of what pretence refuge is taken.

There remains only one other case of which to speak, and no true-hearted American can speak of it without pain. We refer, of course, to those States whose legislatures have by public acts repudiated portions of their debts. Before noticing these acts at all in detail, we wish to say, what is not always remembered, either here or in foreign countries, that no legislature has repudiated a contract, without, at the same time, declaring it to have been made under such circumstances as not to be a valid obligation either in point of law or natural equity. It has been seen, how far we are from admitting that this plea amounts to a full defence. But we think it is of some importance to show, what is undoubtedly true, that no public body in this country has denied the obligation of the State to pay an admitted debt. Reasons affecting the equity of the claims, and grounds which would be tenable if they existed, have always been relied on as the cause of repudiation. We are not aware, that it has been maintained anywhere, that the people of a State can cancel an obligation by their mere will. How is it possible, that the American people should ever listen to a doctrine so absurd ? How can they forget, that the binding force of a contract depends upon a law which neither kings nor people enacted or can repeal ? It comes from the awful Being who created and fashioned us, who sustains our life and judges

our actions. It was enacted by His will ; it is enforced by His power ; and the united will of the whole human race cannot influence it. That which is unjust will remain so, though all mankind should call it just, and try to believe it.

He who enacted this law will surely enforce it. *He doth govern the nations upon earth ;* and they who disregard their solemn obligations, and break their plighted faith, and repay confidence with deceit, and a trusting dependence on their honor with open injustice, must come to know and feel bitterly, that the high qualities they have set at naught are essential to their own prosperity ; that without them nothing is secure ; that embarrassment and loss, undeveloped resources which produce only discontent, and energies unexercised which create nothing but restlessness, are the inevitable destiny of a people guilty of bad faith. We believe the American people know this ; and because they know it, they who would lead them to do wrong have sought for fair pretences to make it seem right. The great mass of the people of the United States never have listened to these pretences, and, we firmly believe, never will listen to them. It is not strange, however, that some should have hearkened to them, and been led astray. But the time is fast approaching, and is now close at hand, when every State which has the ability to pay its debts, or any part of them, must begin to pay, or begin to be openly and knowingly fraudulent. Two ways are before them, the one leading to justice and honor, the other to repudiation and disgrace ; one or the other must be deliberately chosen, and that soon.

It may assist us to discern the character of one of these paths, if we will attend for a moment to the true meaning of the word *repudiation*. In substance, it means *confiscation*. There is no just distinction between an act of the legislature requiring me to surrender a part of my property to the public use without compensation, and an act declaring that the State shall not, and will not, pay an equal amount which is due to me. No doubt, the former would alarm a greater number of persons than the latter ; but this only renders it less dangerous, if such things admit of degrees of danger. Analyze the laws, and see if there be any difference between them, and where the difference lies. By the act first supposed, the State puts in motion its agents, and its civil

or military force, and transfers to itself the possession and use of that which is mine. But in so doing, it does no wrong. This is an act of *eminent domain*, such as every government performs occasionally ; and it would cease to be strong enough for any useful purpose, if it did not possess this power. But as soon as my property has been thus taken, the State owes me compensation for what I have surrendered. If it makes this compensation, all is right ; and my property has been lawfully appropriated to the use of the State. If it refuses to make it, then my property has been *confiscated*, and the State has been guilty of a gross act of arbitrary power.

Such are the principles involved in the law first supposed ; and if we consider the other, we shall find the same principles applicable there. The State borrows my money, promising to pay it to me, or to any one to whom I shall assign the obligation. It now owes to me a recompense for what it has received. This duty grows out of the receipt of my money by the State, as, in the other case, it grew out of the receipt of my property. In the one case, the obligation to make compensation arises out of the mere justice of the claim, or, to use legal language, it is implied from the circumstances of the parties ; in the other case, the obligation arises from the express promise of the State. In both there is a perfect obligation, and the wrong done is the same ; namely, the violation of a perfect obligation to make compensation for money or property used by the State. It may be added, that the wilful refusal to repay a loan to the State, made on the faith of a positive promise, contains an element of wrong which does not ordinarily belong to mere seizures and confiscations ; for it is treacherous, as well as unjust.

There is another respect, in which the two cases approach still nearer to each other. The written obligation of the State, by which it has promised to pay to me, or to any one to whom I shall assign such obligation, a sum of money, is, both in form and in substance, property. It is so known to the law, and it is so in fact. It may be the subject of a larceny or a trespass, of a sale or a bequest ; it is a thing of value, of which I have the rightful possession. And it is wholly immaterial to me, and to the question of right, whether the State takes it out of my possession by force, or renders

it valueless by refusing to pay it. The only difference between the two would be, that in the one case I should lose the paper and ink of the obligation ; in the other case, I should not ; — a distinction which will hardly be deemed important. It is clear, therefore, that repudiation and confiscation are in principle the same ; and if we can feel a preference for one over the other, we should say without hesitation, let us have confiscation ; let us have seizures made and contributions levied openly, and with as much fairness as acts of such arbitrary power admit, rather than obtain possession of money under the confidence reposed in solemn promises, and then add treachery to injustice by repudiating them. The violent course is the more manly one.

Certainly it would be desirable, that perfect justice to all men should be at once the only foundation and the object of human governments. This never has been, and perhaps never will be. But mankind have continued to live, and have enjoyed many, and perhaps most, of the blessings which grow out of the social state, under governments in whose constitutions it is easy to detect bad elements. But if there is one principle of policy which can be considered as settled, and as essential to all tolerable government, it is that which demands the absolute security of property. Men will submit to a great deal, so long as a just regard is shown for the rights of property ; when these are attacked, they will submit no longer, unless they are content to be slaves. This is a truth made familiar and practical to the people of this country by the war of the Revolution, which grew out of it, and by the written constitution of the Union, and of every State in the confederacy, which embodies and repeats it, and draws around it all the safeguards which human wisdom and foresight can supply. That private property shall not be applied to public uses without a just compensation ; that no man shall be deprived of his inheritance, except by the judgment of his peers and the standing laws of the land ; and that no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of any contract, are principles as familiar to us as our own names. The anxious care which our fathers took of the right of property has not been in vain. The principle was planted in a friendly soil, and has struck deep root. That branch of the great Anglo-Saxon family by

which this continent is peopled has a strong and honest attachment to property and its rights. It is not a blind and sordid love of wealth, debasing the mind and hardening the heart. As a people, we are not avaricious. We spend freely, and we give with the largest generosity. It is because we know the uses of property, that we value and love it. We want it for ourselves, that we may have a freer and larger scope for wise enjoyment and improvement. We want it for our children, that they may be secured, as far as we can secure them, from the evils of ignorance and dependence. We want it for the charities which are waging perpetual war upon vice, and alleviating the miseries of the human condition; and for our churches, and colleges, and schools, which fit us to live in this world, and teach us humbly to hope for a better life hereafter. We want it for our country, in whose grand march of improvement we feel so much pleasure and pride. We have connected with it — and we think it a natural connexion — all our ideas of justice, of social order, of personal security, and of the peaceful pursuit of happiness.

How great, then, must be the violence done to the sense of right of such a people, before they can bring themselves to injure these clear and well understood rights of property! They must first be corrupted and degraded. In this country, all power emanates from them, and, at frequently recurring periods, returns to them to be delegated anew. And though it may sometimes happen, that they are not responsible for particular measures at the time they are taken, it cannot happen, that any unjust thing, of sufficient importance to attract their attention, should be done by their delegated government, and remain without a remedy, except by their will. This subject of repudiation is too large to escape notice, and too important to be passed over without a distinct and strong exertion of the popular will. If the doctrine it involves is ever carried into effect, it must be because a majority of the people have adopted it. Can that evil day come without first corrupting the people? What will then have become of that loyalty, which attaches us to our country with the bonds of strong affection; of that love of national glory, and that quick sense of national disgrace, without which no people ever were, or deserved to be, great; of that regard for justice, upon which alone rest our laws and all our social order and internal peace; of that attachment to property, out of which

spring our habits of industry, our untiring energies, our progress in the arts, and comforts, and securities, and charities of life? What will have become of all these, when a majority of this people come to look upon a particular body of men, embracing citizens as well as foreigners, as their lawful prey, to be pursued across the barriers of the constitution, and over every safeguard which national honor and good faith can raise up, and to be seized and destroyed in the sight of the civilized world?

Let us not think, if we do this wrong, that we are no worse than others, for we are bound by more and stronger obligations than ever rested on any other people. The reverence of the Pilgrims for duty and conscience; the lofty love of justice of Penn and his associates; the pure equity, and constant regard for the rights of all, of Lord Baltimore and his colony; the high honor and chivalric spirit of Smith, and Oglethorpe, and the Southern colonists, — all call out to us, not to bring disgrace upon the children of such fathers. The providence of God, which has led us through a feeble infancy, and supported our steps in times of great trial, and raised up mighty men to supply our needs, and stand as examples in time to come; which has made us millions from a handful, and poured upon us a tide of prosperity such as never blessed any other people, — persuades us not to repay this kindness by breaking His law of justice. The hopes of mankind, that the great experiment of self-government may succeed, and its influences go forth all over the earth, till all men are raised to freedom and established in its secure enjoyment, beseech us not to violate that principle of justice, which is the corner-stone of every free government. They warn us, that we are extinguishing the light which had begun to enlighten the world; that we are putting into the mouths of kings and nobles the bitter words of contempt against all republics; that we are enabling them to say, not without an appearance of truth, that, because we have no hereditary nobility, we have no nobleness of soul; that, because we have abolished the rights of primogeniture, we can no longer inherit the manly virtues of our fathers; that in a republic nothing is fixed; that it is not too much for such a government to attempt by its will to displace God's eternal laws, for the sake of a base pecuniary advantage; and that, if a people so descended, so taught by experience,

so educated by schools and churches, so prosperous and proud, will descend so low, how little can justly be expected of any other people who should attempt self-government! Such is the language to which the friends of free government abroad are forced to listen, and to the truth of which they begin to assent.

But it is not merely the regard which we owe to our fathers, our gratitude to God, and our duty to the principles of a free government, which urge upon us the rightful course. There is, besides, an enlightened and religious public opinion, which shines upon the world like the sun, and penetrates everywhere like the common air. No people can escape from its influence, or resist its power. It has already become the voice of the great family of civilized man. None can refuse to hear it. It comes from the heart of our common humanity, and so must reach the heart of all whom it addresses. As yet, it does not speak on many subjects; but who can doubt, that a deliberate and wilful violation of the plighted faith of great republics, by which distress and ruin are brought into numberless homes, is a subject on which it *will* speak? Who can doubt, that it will find in such cases those elements in which all mankind have a common interest? Have men ceased to entertain a profound regard for good faith? Has fidelity to engagements ceased to be a virtue of importance? Has common honesty become useless to mankind? "Justice is the great standing policy of all civilized states." All the world now knows it, and no nation can depart from this policy without dishonor and degradation.

Let us, then, look upon this matter as it really is, and as all men must at last view it; nay, as it stands now before that great tribunal where no popular pretexts can avail. There it is of no advantage to say, that many of these debts are held by rich and selfish foreign capitalists, who care for nothing so much as to wring money from the hard earnings of our people. A wise man told us, long ago, that he did not listen with much credulity to any who spoke evil of those whom they were going to plunder; and the world thinks little of the epithets we bestow on those who ask us only for justice. It demands of us, In what code of morals or laws do we find it written, that the circumstances or condition of a man furnish the least excuse for doing him a wilful wrong? It asks us, if this is the spirit of our republican doctrine, that

all men are *equal* in the sight of the law. It asks how we can know the conditions and circumstances of our creditors ; whether we have the means of investigating them ; whether we have attempted to use those means ; how many widows and orphans, whose sole hope of earthly comfort rested upon our honor, we find recorded on our list ; how many aged men, past the season of active labor, have invested the savings of long lives in our good faith ; *and what we have done to relieve them.* These are questions which the public opinion of Christendom already asks, and which must be answered ; and, unless we speedily act upon this subject as justice and honesty require, the misery of our case will be, that we can make no answer, which will not involve us in deep disgrace. We may, it is true, attempt to plead, that, as to some of these debts, there are technical defences ; and that, in respect to others, the agents who were charged with their negotiation committed gross frauds on the States. Be it so. But the States selected their own agents, and trusted them ; and therefore every just principle requires, that the States should bear the consequences of these frauds. And as to the technical objections, if any such exist, no civilized government is worthy of its name, which would take advantage of them. A government straining after a technical objection to avoid payment of a just debt to a creditor who probably scarcely looked at the instrument when he parted with his money, except to see plainly expressed upon it, that "*the faith and credit of the State was pledged*" for its payment ! Such a government, we repeat it, is not worthy of the name. It is a great pettifogger, and not a government. The more powerful it is, the greater is its disgrace. The more proud it is, the greater is its meanness. The more enlightened it is, the greater is its sin.

We have said, that, in substance, repudiation is confiscation. And what would future times say to a series of acts of confiscation, by which the great republics of the New World, in the middle of the nineteenth century, should appropriate millions of property to their own use ? The inquiry would be made, Was it enemy's property, seized in time of war ; or was it taken in the midst of a revolution, as a signal and severe punishment for great crimes against the state ? If so, though opposed to the lenient and more humane spirit of the present age, and in itself of very doubtful

propriety, the laws of nations do not positively forbid it, and the examples of nations in less favored times might afford some excuse for it. But what must be the reply? It must be, that these acts were done in a time of profound peace; that they fell alike upon citizens and upon strangers; upon the child, who was too young to be otherwise than innocent, and women and aged men, who were too feeble to be feared; that they were directed against no crime; that they were justified by no principle; that they were naked acts of arbitrary power, prompted by no motive except a base love of money. We cannot bring ourselves to fear, that the American people, or any considerable part of them, will ever stand fairly before the world in judgment for this great crime. We know, that their dangers and difficulties are not small; but we believe they will be met and overcome by the vigor and courage which have hitherto conquered all difficulties, and met all dangers undismayed. It is, however, the part of wisdom to look steadily at these dangers and difficulties, and it may aid us to do so, if we consider the effects already produced by repudiation.

The first and most obvious effect of even the small favor with which this doctrine has been received is, that it has seriously impaired the pecuniary credit and resources of the country. The conduct of a few States has not only destroyed their own credit, and left their sister States very little to boast of, but has so materially affected the credit of the whole Union, that it was found impossible to negotiate in Europe any part of the loan authorized by Congress in 1842. It was offered on terms most advantageous to the creditor; terms which, in former times, would have been eagerly accepted; and after going a begging through all the exchanges of Europe, the agent gave up the attempt to obtain the money in despair. It is impossible to believe, that any capitalist refused to lend his money because he doubted the ability of the United States to pay their debts. Nor is it credible, that the mere failure of a few of the State governments to meet their engagements would have produced this extraordinary effect. It is the truth, and it should sink into the heart of every American, that this loan was refused because Europe doubted the honor of this country. We say it should sink into the hearts of our countrymen; but it should stir no anger there. *We* know, that the honor of this Union

is, and we firmly believe it ever will be, untarnished. *We* know the distinction between the States and the national government, and the hardship of most of the cases in which States have failed to perform their promises ; and we know, too, how little progress the odious and infamous doctrine of repudiation has made. But the word *repudiation* has been sounded in the ears of men in Europe, till they have begun to fear it is the settled doctrine of a majority of our people. Every failure to meet an engagement by a State is looked upon as a practical result of this theory. And it is, therefore, not at all wonderful, that the pecuniary credit of the country should first be brought into doubt, and then speedily destroyed. We have no right to be angry ; but we cannot help feeling a deep concern both for the cause and the effect.

For, aside from all considerations which affect our national honor, the pecuniary credit of a State is a matter of great public concern. All governments are liable to unforeseen and pressing wants, which can only be met and supplied through the public credit ; because these wants occur under such circumstances as render immediate and adequate supplies highly important, or absolutely necessary, and when taxation cannot furnish them speedily enough to meet the pressing occasion. Our form of government does not exempt us from such wants. The two great political parties, which have ruled this country since the adoption of the Constitution, agree, that any accumulation of money raised by taxation is not to be thought of, and that no more is to be drawn from the people than is absolutely necessary, for the time being, to enable the government to exercise economically its appropriate functions. But both parties have found, when in power, what, indeed, any party must always find, that there are always great obstacles in the way of a large and sudden increase of taxes. No people will submit to it willingly. It requires time to convince them of its necessity and policy ; some time is necessary to enable them to accommodate their affairs and resources to the new demand. But the emergency leaves no time. Invasion or insurrection will not wait till public opinion has become reconciled to an increase of taxation, and till the public agents have gone through the slow process of obtaining a supply from that source.

We have learned, also, from the experience of the last

three years, that even in time of peace, and when there are no extraordinary demands upon the energies of the country, it may not be possible to carry on the government without the aid of loans. Within that short period, we have seen the national government become so embarrassed, that it could not have performed its most necessary functions, if relief had not been obtained by borrowing money. And we have had some opportunity to see what great pecuniary sacrifices must be made by the public, when money must be had while a shade rests on the credit of the borrower, and how important, in point of economy as well as honor, is an unstained reputation for fidelity to engagements. It concerns, therefore, the safety of every government, that the prompt and adequate resources of the public credit should not be trifled with and lost.

The views which we have thus far presented respect our domestic condition and policy; but the subject has a direct connexion with the foreign relations of the United States. It has always been admitted to be one of the duties, and, consequently, one of the rights, of the sovereign power in every nation, to see that gross injustice be not done to its subjects or citizens, in a foreign country. If the injustice be of such a nature as to admit of legal remedy, and the courts of the land where it is done are open for redress, the sovereign is bound to wait till that redress has been sought for and refused in the highest court known to the law of that country. It is presumed, that justice will be done according to the course of the law of the land; and this presumption can be removed only by an actual failure to obtain it in the highest court. No nation can answer for the equity of proceedings in all its inferior courts. It suffices to provide a supreme judicature, by which error and partiality may be corrected. This presumption holds even when redress has been refused, unless the decision is palpably wrong, — *in re minime dubiâ*. But where the decision against the foreign claimant is evidently unjust, or when the law studiously withholds its aid, so that he cannot obtain the fruits of a decision in his favor, or when the courts of the country are not open to his suit, the foreign sovereign is bound to listen to the complaints of his subject thus injured, and either make indemnification, or seek it from the people by whom the wrong has been done. It is apparent, therefore, that at no

distant day, this matter may become the occasion of negotiation with those governments whose subjects are interested in these debts. In such an event, the preliminary question would be, whether any courts of this country are open to foreigners seeking to recover their money of the States. As a general rule, the courts of the States cannot entertain a suit against the States. There are only three exceptions known to us, and those are the State of Mississippi, which allows the holders of her bonds to bring suits against the State in her own Court of Chancery, and the States of Maryland and Virginia, which, in some instances, have allowed suits against themselves, but always, we believe, by special laws. How far the case of Mississippi would come within the rule of international law which binds the claimant to seek for redress in the courts of the land where the wrong was done, we are not prepared to say. So far as we know, it would be a new case. The chancellor of Mississippi is elected by the people every six years. He is, therefore, appointed by, and directly dependent on, one of the parties to the suit, and the case has been prejudged by the legislature. Now, if the rule should apply at all, and the parties should be held bound to seek for justice at the hands of a judge thus situated, it seems clear, that the decision would be much more open to doubt than in ordinary cases where the foreigner sues a citizen. If the presumption, that justice will be done according to the law of the land, should exist, it would certainly be weak and easily removed, and would be quite as likely to lead to disputes and contentions as to settle them.*

It is manifestly of great importance to us to have the full benefit of the presumption, which, for the sake of peace, the law of nations raises in such cases. *Without* this presumption, the claim for redress must be made on the government of the United States, and the cases judged of and decided by the parties to the negotiation; after which, if the foreign government is not satisfied with the result, it has

* The conduct of the courts of the States in reference to British debts was a fruitful source of controversy between England and this country in 1792, and it is notorious, that great amounts of those debts were not, and could not be, recovered, until after the establishment of the courts of the United States. See the correspondence between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Hammond, the minister of Great Britain. Wait's *Am. State Papers*, 1789 to 1796. *Ware* v. *Hylton*, 3 Dal. R. 199. Elliot's *Debates*, 142 - 144, 282.

just cause for reprisals, and even for war. *With* it, the matter is first submitted to the highest legal tribunal, and the foreign government is bound to be satisfied with its decision, unless so palpably wrong, as to give rise to the belief that it was corruptly made. We have said, that the claim for redress must be made upon the United States ; for we cannot entertain the least doubt, that the national government is as much responsible for injustice done to foreigners by the States, as by individuals or corporations. Foreign states can know only that sovereign which has the power to make war and peace, to negotiate and enter into treaties. They can no more have relations with a State, than with a county. If the wrong is done within the territory of the United States, the United States must answer for it.

But we believe our Constitution has not left us without the protection which is enjoyed by all other nations who have courts of justice open to foreigners seeking redress, and where they are bound to presume that justice will be done. The Constitution, as originally adopted, contained in Art. III. § 2, the following words ; "The judicial power shall extend to controversies between a State, *or the citizens thereof*, and foreign States, *citizens*, *or subjects*." The eleventh article of the amendments declares, that "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States *by citizens of another State*, *or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State*." Thus the original provision, as to suits against one of the United States by foreign states, was allowed to stand. Mr. Chief Justice Marshall, in his very able opinion in the case of *Chisholm* v. *The State of Georgia*, has stated the reason of this provision in such a manner as renders it quite applicable to our present purpose. He says, the Constitution contained this provision, "because, as every nation is responsible for the conduct of its citizens towards other nations, all questions touching the justice due to foreign nations or people ought to be ascertained by, and depend on, national authority." There can be no doubt, therefore, that, by the very terms of the Constitution, a foreign state or sovereign may sue one of the United States in some court of the United States. Nor has the Constitution left it doubtful, or even left it for Congress to provide, which court it shall be ; for it contains

the following words ; " In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, *and those in which a State shall be a party*, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction."

We conceive, also, that a foreign state or sovereign may easily be placed in such a condition as to prosecute these claims. It is incident to the sovereign power, that it should be able to make itself the owner of such claims. The rules as to the purchase and sale of rights of action, which affect individuals, are not applicable to the sovereign. The law presumes, that the government of a country will not be guilty of *champerty* or *maintenance*. Under the common law, the king might take an assignment of a debt, and sue therefor in his own name. And we have no doubt, that the same law exists in all countries. It seems to follow, then, that, if the sovereign should take an assignment of a claim, and sue therefor in the court of a foreign country, the comity and respect due to the foreign sovereign would necessarily prevent the court from inquiring into the causes and motives of the assignment ; especially in a country where the common law exists, which makes all debts negotiable between the sovereign and a subject or citizen. And if this motive were inquired into, it would appear, that the foreign sovereign had taken the assignment merely to discharge a duty to his subjects by affording to them a remedy for a supposed wrong.* Certainly it would not be a subject of complaint or regret on our part, that this course should be taken, and that the foreign sovereign should submit the question to the decision of our own highest tribunal, instead of resorting directly to negotiation. In the event of such a thing becoming necessary, we should look upon an application to the Supreme Court of the United States as not only practicable, but desirable ; and we should feel thankful for the existence of that principle in the public law, and that wise provision in our own Constitution, which enable us to ask foreigners to seek for justice in that

* It has sometimes been suggested, in answer to the view taken by us, that the Judiciary Act has so limited the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, that an indorsee or assignee of a chose in action cannot sue in those courts, unless the assignor or indorser could himself sue therein ; but that limitation has reference only to suits in the Circuit and District Courts. It does not touch the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, which is conferred by the Constitution, and is not within the control of Congress.

high tribunal which was created to establish it ; a tribunal known to the world as elevated far above all State biases and prejudices ; whose members come together from the North and the South, from the East and the West, across distances wider than half of Europe, and listen to sovereign States, as they contest their claims to territory and jurisdiction ; a tribunal which sits in judgment on the acts of the legislature of the nation, and decrees them to be valid or void ; a tribunal which is our own ark of safety, and to which offended Europe may come confidently, and obtain such justice as war and reprisals never gave, and never can give.

We have now presented our views of this important subject. We fear, that intelligent men throughout the country have hitherto scarcely done their duty in regard to it. They have looked upon it as interesting only those States who are embarrassed by debts, and those which have taken false steps to escape from them. They have thought it a matter of national concern, only because it affects our character as a people. But they must no longer forget, that the rights of every honest man are violated by an unjust act of the government under which he lives. It has been thought to be one of the advantages of a free government, that the individual is not merged in the state ; that each citizen is regarded and cared for, not merely because important to the state, but for the sake of his own welfare and happiness. For him, as a man, laws are enacted ; for him rights exist ; for him remedies are provided. He stands, before all tribunals, capable of claiming whatever is just. He means not to identify himself with any class, or community, or corporation. As a citizen, he has all the rights which can be had ; and, among those rights, he has eminently that of requiring the government, of which he is a constituent part, to do nothing which shall stain his honor, or shock his sense of justice, or lessen his patriotism, or deprive him of his share of the glory of his country ; and if any public act does this, he has as much right to feel aggrieved, as if his personal liberty were infringed. It is true, he walks abroad unharmed in his person ; but a violent constraint has been put upon his love of justice. It is true, his house and land are untouched ; but his country's glory, for which he would at any time have sacrificed them, has been squandered and lost. He still has a country ; but that which made it lovely in his eyes has been defaced and destroyed.

Let every honest man, then, take care to do what in him lies to protect himself from this great wrong, and never rest, until the faith of his country has been redeemed, and its honor secured from reproach.

ART. VI. — *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, Author of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1843. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 488, 480, and 524.

MR. PRESCOTT has given proof of moral courage, as well as literary industry, by the publication of a new and elaborate historical work, before the applause with which his history of Ferdinand and Isabella was received has "died into an echo." An author's former self is his own worst enemy, and the great success of a first literary enterprise is likely to paralyze rather than stimulate a highly sensitive nature, which fears censure more than it courts praise. A mind of this class shrinks from making a second effort, from a consciousness of the standard by which it will be tried, and of the comparison to which it will be subjected. He has more to lose and less to gain. The second book must be better than the first, in order to be considered as good; as the son of a great man must be a greater man than his father, to be esteemed equal to him. Mr. Prescott shows himself to be possessed of a mind of manly temper, in thus submitting to the judgment of the public a new work of essentially the same character as that which has given him so high a rank among the historians of the age. He has not been content to slumber upon his laurels, but has been toiling in those fields of research in which new ones are to be gathered, with as much ardor and industry as if his first crown were yet to be won. We are glad to see, that, in his case, the "noble rage" of the scholar is not chilled by the morbid fear of putting in peril the reputation which has been already gained, and that he does not let his armor rust ingloriously on the wall, because he has gained one victory.

The brilliant success of the "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," and the high excellences of matter and style by which that success is vindicated, are sources of just pride to Mr. Prescott's countrymen. When that work was noticed in our Journal, it was spoken of as the production of a "scholar heretofore unheard-of in the world of letters;" and now, in the space of five years, it has become a world-renowned book. It rose, at once, with no doubtful pause or anxious suspense, but at a single bound, to the highest point of public favor, and there it has calmly rested and is likely to rest. Besides numerous editions in America and England, it has been republished in Paris, translated into German under the superintendence of the celebrated historian Von Raumer, also into Italian, and twice into Spanish. The two Spanish translations are now in the course of publication. It has taken the rank of a classic in our language, and in the emulous favor with which it has been received on each side of the Atlantic may be read an assurance of the unbiased judgment of posterity.

It was an element in the success of this elaborate and finished history, that it took the world by surprise. No previous efforts had heralded its way, and told the public what they might expect. We may apply, without exaggeration, to its author what Byron said of himself; that he awoke one morning and found himself famous. It has been Mr. Prescott's good fortune, that the patient temper of his mind has been in harmonious relation with the circumstances of his position. No restless impatience of spirit has disturbed the tranquil progress of his researches, and no stern necessity has compelled him to present their results in a crude and imperfect state. He fixed his eye upon a distant point; to this he took the instant way, and approached it steadily, though slowly, allowing nothing to divert him to the right hand or the left. He was willing to bide his time; and while others were winning name and praise by cheaper efforts, he wrought in tranquil silence, disturbed by no feverish appetite for ephemeral notoriety, till the hour came when the last touches had been given to his work, and he could dismiss it from his hands with the calm assurance, that, whatever might be its fate, he had at least labored conscientiously to make it worthy of success. His history was the finished result of long years of golden leisure, wisely em-

ployed ; of patient reflection and indefatigable study, devoted to one object. It was the natural growth of the author's mind, with the healthy sap of life circulating through it ; and not one of those rickety manufactures which betray at a glance the haste with which they have been put together at the bidding of some contracting publisher, whose favor is bread and whose frown is want. In one moment, the ample harvest of all his industry and all his patience was secured, and the long accumulating arrears of fame were discharged by the rich shower of "golden opinions" which was poured into his lap.

The subject of the present work, the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, is deficient in moral grandeur and interest. We read the narrative with far different feelings from those with which we follow the changing events of a struggle like that of the revolt of the Netherlands, or our own Revolution, in which the noblest endowments of mind and the highest qualities of character are displayed in asserting and maintaining a great and vital principle. There is nothing here that kindles the cheek and suffuses the eye with a proud sense of the divine elements which were mingled with the dust from which man was formed. It is a tale of blood and horror. It is the melancholy record of an exterminating war, waged against an unoffending people, with robber-like rapacity and ruffian cruelty, in which the superior advantages of civilization, science, and discipline are found linked with the lowest and basest of passions, and all our sympathies are enlisted in behalf of the heathen and the savage. As a historical theme, it is in some respects obviously inferior to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, with which it is so naturally connected, as a progressive step in the increase of that vast colonial empire, the foundations of which were laid by the genius of Columbus. We no longer observe, from the historian's point of view, the stately march of European history and politics, the growth of modern government and civilization, and the successive events by which Providence has been for centuries educating the great human family. The stage is contracted, and the actors have less of port and majesty. The page does not sparkle with names which bring with them long trains of association, nor does the canvass glow with such life-like portraits of men illustri-

ous in the arts of war and peace. Cortés, the prominent figure in the group, may be esteemed a fair equivalent for the "Great Captain"; for, though they are not comparable in the splendor of their achievements, and still less in the scale on which their military enterprises were conducted, yet in all the essential qualities of a leader of armies, in valor, in patience, in fertility of resources, in coolness in the hour of danger, in provident forecast, in consistent firmness of discipline, and in the power of animating his soldiers with his own indomitable spirit, the Conqueror of Mexico need not shrink from a parallel. But we miss the lovely image of Isabella, the wise sovereign, the devoted wife, the affectionate mother, the warm-hearted woman, adorning a throne with those qualities of mind and character which would have shone with cheering lustre in the humblest station, and made her children, had they been born to daily toil, "rise up and call her blessed." No character supplies the place of the wary and sagacious Ferdinand, always commanding our respect, if he seldom inspires a warmer sentiment; or of the romantic and imaginative Columbus, perhaps, of all men, who have been so great in action, the most remarkable for that fervid temperament of genius which is essential to the highest success in literature. Still less can we find any type of that extraordinary man, Cardinal Ximenes, who united in his own person powers so various and so opposite; a scholar, as if he had dreamed away his years in some studious cell, with his elbow upon his desk; a statesman, as if he had breathed all his life the air of the cabinet; a soldier, as if his only training had been that of arms; with no touch of weakness, and free from every vice except pride; with a frame of adamant and a brain whose fibres never relaxed or grew weary, a capacity that foresaw all things, comprehended all things, and accomplished all things, and a fiery energy of will, before which obstacles vanished like chaff before the wind, and opposition melted away like walls of mists in the sun.

Still, the subject has attractive elements peculiar to itself. As a poetical and picturesque theme, stimulating the fancy and filling the mind with vivid and distinct images, it can hardly be surpassed. It carries us into a new and strange world, inhabited by a peculiar people, where all the institutions and habits of life are novel, and where the productive energy of nature itself is manifested in forms of unaccus-

tomed beauty and grandeur. The whole scene is illumined by the last dying gleams of chivalry. The wild courage and reckless spirit of adventure of the knight-errant were displayed, in their full force, by those swarthy soldiers who planted the standard of Spain upon the soil of Mexico. The enterprise was one of the last manifestations of the age of the hand, as distinguished from the age of the head ; of an age in which battles were decided by the personal prowess of a few champions, before war had become a succession of scientific combinations. The contest was between civilization and barbarism, between the steady and deliberate valor of disciplined troops and the impetuous daring of savage masses, — in which the result was as inevitable as in the shock between the vessel of iron and the vessel of clay ; and the conflict of these opposite forces affords constant opportunities for glowing narrative and picturesque description.

The wonderful character of the country itself, which was the prize in this contest, furnishes a brilliant accompaniment, in perfect keeping with the story. The scene is in unison with the actors and the events. The external features of Mexico, its extensive central plain, elevated so high, and with slopes on each side so steep and abrupt, its snow-covered volcanoes, the splendor and variety of its tropical vegetation, the strange animals which inhabited its soil, and the birds of novel and dazzling plumage which wantoned in its brilliant sunshine, its diversity of climate, the rare beauty of its flowers, and the luscious flavor of its fruits, — all are powerfully stimulating to the imagination, and in harmony with the romantic incidents which it is the historian's duty to record. The character of the native population, their inconsistent civilization, the contrast between the superstitions which degraded and enslaved their minds and their general intelligence and progress in science and art, between their habitual gentleness and the bloody ferocity of their religious observances, are also fruitful in the elements of the poetical and the picturesque, and enable the writer to throw the charm of fiction over his pages, while adhering scrupulously to the unvarnished truth.

A subject so attractive has not been hitherto untouched. It has occupied the pens of two writers in English. The narrative of the conquest of Mexico fills about two hundred pages of Robertson's extended work on the history

of America. It is written in that carefully balanced and somewhat formal style which is characteristic of this historian, and is strongly marked by that tendency to generalization which is observable in all his writings. But the plan of a work so extensive admitted of no minuteness of detail, and the pages which he has devoted to this subject form rather an entertaining and well-written sketch than an elaborate history. Patient and exhausting research was not congenial to Dr. Robertson's habits of mind, and his historical works are more remarkable for sound judgment, skilful and luminous arrangement, studied beauty of style and distinctness of narrative, than for minute accuracy and profound knowledge. Succeeding inquirers in the same field of research often find themselves called upon to make energetic protests against the statements and opinions to which his flowing and full-dressed periods have given such wide circulation. Southey, with much injustice, applies to him his own remark upon Solís, that he knows no author in any language whose literary reputation so much surpasses his just claims ; and Dr. Dunham, in his " History of Spain and Portugal," treats him with a caustic severity unbecoming when applied to a man so distinguished in literature and so eminently respectable in private life. Besides, whatever had been Dr. Robertson's plan, and however conscientiously he might have labored in his inquiries and researches, the imperfect materials at that time within his power would have made it impossible for him to treat the subject in a manner to satisfy the requisitions of the present age. As is well known, he complains that he was denied access to some of the most important public repositories in Spain, the treasures of all of which have been generously opened to Mr. Prescott. Upon the subject of the Mexican civilization, the knowledge of his time was extremely imperfect, compared with that which we possess. Humboldt had not poured upon the subject the light of his luminous and comprehensive genius. The works of Veytia, Sahagun, and Boturini slumbered in inaccessible manuscripts ; those of Ixtlilxochitl have never been printed, and were unknown to Robertson ; Gama had not written upon the Aztec chronology and astronomy ; and the splendid pictorial works, which have recently been published, had not addressed their evidence to the eye, in such characters that he who runs may read. The cautious and skeptical

spirit in which he wrote, and which was warranted by the few facts which were within his knowledge, would now be esteemed as indicating an incredulity amounting (as Mrs. Thrale said Dr. Johnson's did) to disease.

Another work on this subject, forming one small volume, was written for "Constable's Miscellany," by Don Telesforo de Trueba y Cosio. He was a Spaniard, who lived many years in London, wrote some respectable novels on Spanish subjects, and died about ten years since in Paris. His work is written in English remarkably good for a foreigner, but the style has no grace or attraction; and, as a literary effort, it is a mere bookseller's job, the facts being borrowed from the most obvious sources, especially from Robertson.

The Spaniards have one good history of the Conquest, — in some respects, their best history. It is written by Don Antonio de Solís, and holds the rank of a classic in the language. He was a cultivated scholar, and endowed with a poetical genius of no mean order; and the attractive qualities of his style, and a charm of manner not common among the historians of his country, have given his work a place in Spanish literature somewhat higher than its substantial merits justify. He shows the skill of a practised writer in the distribution of his subject and the arrangement of his materials, and the narrative is colored throughout with the warm hues of a poetical fancy. The rules of proportion and perspective are carefully observed, the subordinate parts are never allowed to assume an undue prominence, and the connexion between the several portions of the story is skilfully maintained. The style is finished and elaborate, betraying a close study and evident imitation of the Latin historians, and, though criticized by some foreigners, has received the uniform commendation of his own countrymen, who are alone qualified to pronounce an opinion. But in those essential qualities which make a history valuable to the student and the inquirer, its merits are not so high. He was neither a profound thinker nor a laborious student, and spent much more time upon the form than the substance of his work. He does not weigh with critical sagacity the value of authorities, and seems rather in search of what is rhetorically effective than of what is true. His custom of introducing set speeches into the mouths of his personages, though sanctioned

by the practice of antiquity and by some respectable names among modern historians, is offensive to the taste of the present age, produces something like stage effect, and casts "ominous conjectures" upon the accuracy of his narrative. His pages, too, are darkened by the most extravagant fanaticism, and he is equally disloyal to truth in the encomiums which he lavishes upon the Christian conquerors, and in the dark colors in which he has painted their heathen victims. The portrait of Cortés he has drawn without shadow; studiously exalting his merits and concealing his errors, the result is an ideal hero, such as his countrymen could have wished him to be, not such as he was. His history, in spite of its defects, has had great success. It has been printed and reprinted in the original, both in Spain and out of it, with various degrees of typographical elegance, and translated into the principal languages of Europe. The literary character of Solís is discussed by Mr. Prescott in a long and elaborate note, admirable for its just discrimination and beauty of style, to which we are indebted for the substance of the foregoing remarks.

In the studies and researches into which Mr. Prescott was led, while writing his "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," his attention was naturally directed to the kindred and collateral subject of the conquest of Mexico; and a little observation and inquiry satisfied him, that there were in existence, in print and in manuscript, the materials for a much more thorough and accurate history of this event than had hitherto appeared in any language. Having formed the plan of writing the work, he found that the facilities which would be extended to him, in the collection of manuscript authorities and original documentary evidence, were such as to exceed his most sanguine expectations. The result of his own exertions, and those of his friends and correspondents, (few men seem to be more rich in friends), was an accumulation of manuscript materials, far exceeding in amount and value those which had been within the reach of any previous historian.

These materials have been chiefly derived from three collections. The first was made by Don Juan Baptista Muñoz, the well known historiographer of Castile. This is a distinct office, with a salary attached to it. He employed upwards of thirty years in making a collection of documents

illustrating the whole colonial history of Spain in this quarter of the globe. In this task, he labored with indefatigable industry, with a zeal that no obstacles could chill, and a patient assiduity that shrunk from no amount of toil, however exhausting. It was an employment congenial to his taste, and he pursued it with that intense devotion which belongs only to a labor of love. By royal command, every repository was thrown open to him ; the archives of cities and towns, in the Old and the New World, were ransacked by him ; he explored the dark recesses of convent libraries, and disturbed the dust of generations which had settled upon their shelves ; the great national collections of Seville and Simancas opened to him their treasures. Manuscripts mouldy with age were rescued from the devouring jaws of time and brought forth into the light of day, to give their testimony to the past. So patient of labor was he, that he transcribed with his own hand the manuscript of Sahagun's history, forming two bulky volumes in folio, and made a similar transcript of the printed account of Grijalva's expedition by his chaplain, because the book had become so exceedingly rare, that he feared the entire destruction of every existing copy by some of those many casualties that books are heirs to. The result of his labors and researches was an enormous mass of documents, consisting of letters, ordinances, chronicles, journals, and official reports. Of this collection he did not live to reap the benefit himself. Death arrested his labors when he had completed one volume of his great work, which contains an account of a portion of the discoveries of Columbus.

A second collection was made by Don Vargas Ponçe, president of the Academy of History. His manuscripts were chiefly drawn from the archives at Seville, a rich and extensive repository of official documents. He died, too, before he had had time to avail himself of the fruits of his own researches ; and both his manuscripts and those of Muñoz are preserved in the archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, which is intrusted by government with a particular supervision of the colonial history.

A third collection was made by Navarrete, the present president of the Academy, well known as the author of an excellent life of Cervantes, and who is still living in Madrid, in a green old age, universally respected and beloved for his

learning, his talents, his estimable character, and amiable manners. He went over the same ground, gleaning what his predecessors had left, and making many important additions for his own private collection. About twenty years ago, he commenced the publication of the various documents in his possession and that of the Academy. The work is called "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos de los Españoles." The first two volumes are devoted to the life and voyages of Columbus, and in consequence of their publication, Mr. Irving went from London to Madrid to avail himself of these new materials to write the life of the Great Admiral. A third volume, afterwards printed, gives the voyages of the inferior discoverers, as Vespucci, Balboa, and others, who followed in the track of Columbus, and supplied Mr. Irving with the materials for his "Companions of Columbus." Instead of going on, as he had originally proposed, with the publication of the documents illustrating the conquests of Peru and Mexico, Navarrete, in the succeeding volumes, turned aside to the discovery of the Moluccas and the voyages in the East. The troubled state of affairs in Spain prevented the continuation of this excellent undertaking, and the publication was accordingly suspended.

The application which Mr. Prescott made to the Academy for permission to copy that part of their inestimable collection, which related to Mexico and Peru, was received by them in a manner which showed their consciousness, that the admirable work which he had already written, upon one of the most brilliant periods in the annals of Spain, had created a debt of gratitude on the part of the scholars of that country, which they felt a lively desire to repay. After choosing him a member of their body, they appointed one of their own number, a distinguished German scholar resident in Madrid, to superintend the copying of all the materials in their possession. In a similar spirit of generous courtesy, Navarrete, their president, allowed him the free use of his own private collection, the fruits of a long life of accumulation.

From all these various sources, a mass of unpublished documents was obtained, relating to the conquest and settlement of Mexico and Peru, comprising altogether about eight thousand folio pages, varying, of course, in authority and interest, but none without some value, and many of the

highest importance. It is a curious subject of reflection, that two Spanish scholars, armed with all the authority of government, had thus been employed for half a century in gathering materials for the use of a writer, living in a distant portion of the globe, to whom they were not bound by ties either of religion, language, or blood. A shade of melancholy, too, passes over the mind in remembering, that they were not permitted to reap the fruits of their own labors, and to shape their ample materials into a fair edifice of literary fame. It was for others to gather where they had sown. The law of Providence, which Virgil has embodied in his well-known lines, which dooms the bee, the bird, and the ox to toil for others, and not for themselves, is perpetually applied in the history of literary enterprises. The materials are slowly gathered, the plan is sketched, years of patient inquiry and reflection are devoted to preliminary preparation, and when the projected work is beginning to assume distinct proportions in the scholar's mind, when the creative spirit of genius is proceeding to arrange the confused mass into order and beauty, when the heart beats high with anticipated success, and the laurel seems already within the grasp,

> "Comes the blind Fury, with the abhorred shears,
> And slits the thin-spun life."

All, too, who take pleasure in seeing the decline of exclusiveness and intolerance, and the removal of those walls of division which separate nations from each other, will be gratified with the courteous and liberal spirit manifested by the Spanish Academy, which shows, that, even in that part of Europe which is the least progressive in its movement, a decided advance has been made in generous feeling and elevated sentiment since the days of Robertson.

Mr. Prescott did not rest here in his accumulation of unpublished materials. From the Duke of Monteleone, a Sicilian nobleman, the descendant and representative of Cortés, who courteously opened to him the archives of his family, were obtained some interesting manuscripts of a personal nature, illustrating the biography of that renowned adventurer. After these details, it will be hardly necessary to add, that he provided himself with every printed work which had reference to the subject, including the splendid publications of Dupaix and Lord Kingsborough, which, from their

colossal dimensions and costly character, are not often found in private libraries.

As the events, which Mr. Prescott was called upon to record, took place in a country and among a people whose usages and institutions were unlike those of any other, his first step was to transport the reader to the period of the Conquest, and to paint the scene of the enterprise as it appeared to the Spaniards upon their landing and during their progress. This he has done with singular judgment, taste, and sagacity in his Introduction, of about two hundred pages, devoted to a consideration of the Mexican, or, more properly speaking, Aztec civilization. This portion of the work, embodying, as it does, the results of careful reflection and exhausting research, will require to be read with more concentrated attention than the narrative of the Conquest; but it will richly repay all the time which may be devoted to it. It contains a summary and abstract of many elaborate works neither accessible nor attractive to the general reader, written in a style of transparent beauty and simplicity, and pervaded by a sound judgment equally removed from the extremes of credulity and skepticism. We read in it, with melancholy interest, the tale of the flourishing fortunes and palmy prosperity of a race, now humbled to the dust by long years of subjection, and with every spark of manly feeling trampled out by the iron heel of their oppressors.

When the Spaniards landed upon the shores of Mexico, they found themselves in a new world. The singular physical features of the country prepared them for strange revelations, and at every step their anticipations were confirmed. The forms of animal life, which they observed, everywhere suggested resemblances to those of the European world, but nowhere presented an exact parallel. In the productions of the vegetable kingdom, the discrepancy was still more marked. The exhaustless wealth of a tropical soil lavished itself in the grandest and most fantastic shapes; in trees of giant size and luxuriant foliage; in a tangled undergrowth of shrubbery; in a variety of climbing plants, that threw their green arches over the open spaces of the forest, or hung in pendulous grace from the highest branches; and in flowers of vivid hues, whose intoxicating perfume was flung upon the air for many a league. It was a vision of fairy land made real. The old world which they had left seemed tame, languid, and

cold, compared with that upon whose teeming soil they saw the evidence of such undecayed and exuberant energies. The air was clearer ; the sun was brighter, the stars seemed nearer to the earth ; every thing was steeped in a more passionate beauty, and wore the glory and freshness of early youth.

The lord of this favored region was marked by peculiarities of appearance and organization which made him, as compared with the "*homo sapiens Europæus*," another, yet the same. In his form and limbs, there was more of feminine delicacy and roundness than of masculine vigor ; he was more suited to exercises of agility than of strength ; active rather than muscular. The hair was black, coarse, glossy, and straight ; the beard thin and usually plucked out ; the complexion of a reddish brown or copper color ; the cheek-bones high, and the eyes obliquely directed towards the temples ; the expression of the countenance soft, with a tinge of melancholy. In vital energy, power of endurance, and strength of muscle, he was inferior to the European, and a proportionately less quantity of food sufficed for his sustenance.

In social life, manners and customs, civil polity, and religious belief, there were also striking peculiarities. The Aztec race had reached a point in civilization very far beyond that attained by the wandering tribes of the North. Their political organization presented all the elements of a well-defined state. The government was an elective monarchy, and the sovereign was selected from the brothers of the deceased monarch, and, in default of these, from his nephews. The king exercised both legislative and executive functions, and was aided in his duties by a sort of privy council of nobles. There was a numerous body of nobility, bound to the crown by ties of dependence, which had some elements in common with the feudal system. In the organization of the judicial department, the results of wisdom and experience were conspicuous. The judges of the higher courts were appointed by the crown ; those of the inferior tribunals were chosen by the people. The superior judges were independent of the crown, and held their offices for life. In criminal cases, an appeal lay from the inferior to the higher tribunal ; but not in civil. A wise solicitude was felt for the rights both of property and of person, and the purity of the judicial office was guarded by severe penalties. Laws were registered and promulgated by means of hieroglyphical

paintings. Their penal code was sanguinary, like that of most semi-civilized nations ; all the great crimes against society being made capital. Marriage was celebrated with as much formality as in Christian countries. A separate tribunal was instituted for the sole purpose of determining questions relating to it, and a divorce could not be obtained, until authorized by a sentence of this court. The splendor of the crown was maintained, and the expenses of the state defrayed, by a regular system of taxes and revenues. These and many other details, which our limits will not permit us to give, show a civil polity which must have been the growth of the accumulated wisdom of many generations, and those elements of order, dependence, and stability, which distinguish a nation from a tribe.

In the arts which minister to the comforts and convenience of social life, they had also made great progress. They tilled the earth with judgment and skill. Their knowledge of architecture was attested by imposing edifices of stone and brick, ornamented with sculptured decorations and bas-reliefs. They displayed ingenuity and taste in various kinds of manufactures. They made utensils of earthen ware for the ordinary purposes of domestic life, and cups and vases of lackered or painted wood, impervious to wet and richly colored. Their dyes were obtained from both vegetable and mineral substances. They wrought in gold, silver, and precious stones with so much skill and delicacy of workmanship, that the Spanish goldsmiths admitted their own inferiority. But the art in which they particularly excelled was feather-work, with which they produced the effect of the most beautiful mosaic or tapestry. The dazzling plumage of tropical birds was wrought into dresses for their nobility, hangings for apartments, and ornaments for the temples. The specimens of this species of manufacture which were sent to Europe awakened the highest admiration.

In social life and domestic manners, there was no inconsiderable degree of polish and refinement. Their fine climate and fertile soil created a taste for pleasurable sensations, and provided them with the means of gratifying it. In one important respect they will sustain a favorable comparison with nations advanced beyond them in general social progress, and that is in the consideration paid to women, and in the delicacy and tenderness with which they were treated.

The Aztec woman was exempted from the severe toil imposed upon the female sex among all the other Indian races in North America, and only such light labors were exacted of her as were suited to her strength. She shared the confidence of her husband, and was not excluded from his hours of social relaxation. She was his companion, and not his slave. The obligations of the marriage vow were mutually recognized. Their daily life had not the sullen monotony of the more northern races, but was sweetened by those unbought attentions and spontaneous courtesies, which throw their charm over the social intercourse of a civilized community. The sympathizing heart of the Aztec felt it to be a privilege to express by visits of congratulation, and by presents, his pleasure in the happiness of his friends, as on occasion of a marriage, or the birth of a child. Their social entertainments were tasteful and elegant. They had a taste for the pleasures of the table, and in the science of cookery were no mean proficients. Their meats were dressed with various sauces, were accompanied with a profusion of vegetables and fruits, and the more delicate luxuries of pastry and confectionary. After a sumptuous dinner, the Aztec *gourmand* refreshed himself with a cup of chocolate flavored with vanilla, and aided the process of digestion by smoking a pipe or a cigar. The table of Montezuma was spread with imperial magnificence, though he had the bad taste to take his meals alone. Fish, which cannot now be obtained at any price in the city of Mexico, were frequently served up at his board, which, the day before, had been swimming in the Gulf of Mexico, two hundred miles distant. The Aztecs were remarkable for a passionate love of flowers; a taste which they have transmitted to their degenerate and degraded descendants, and which is so generally the accompaniment of a kindly and gentle nature. They decorated their persons with them; their hues and odors heightened the charm of their entertainments, and were blended with their religious observances.

In scientific culture, they had made remarkable progress. By their peculiar and ingenious system of picture-writing, they were furnished with a tolerable substitute for alphabetical signs, and enabled to transport intelligence to distant points, to publish laws and edicts, and to record and hand down to posterity the memorable public and private events

of their annals. They had devised a serviceable and sufficiently simple system of notation in their arithmetic. In the measurement of time, they displayed an astonishing precision, and their astronomical attainments were so extraordinary, so disproportioned to their progress in other intellectual departments, that nothing but an overwhelming amount of evidence would win our belief to the statements which we read. That the Mexicans had solved with more precision than any European nation the nice problem of adjusting the civil by the solar year, and had entirely escaped the error which was rectified by the Gregorian reform in the calendar, is a fact of startling interest, which suggests inquiries and reflections that seek in vain for solution and repose.

The religious faith of every people is a subject of interest to an inquiring mind ; and the more isolated a nation has been, and the less influenced by the opinions and practice of others, the more interesting are the efforts they make to explain the mysteries which surround them, and to answer those perplexing questions which arise in the breast of the natural man with the dawn of intelligence. The religion of the Aztecs was so closely blended with their civil polity, that the latter can hardly be comprehended without a knowledge of the former. The church was with them a distinct institution, wielding great power, and possessing great influence. The sacerdotal order was very numerous ; as may be inferred from one fact, that five thousand priests were attached, in some way or other, to the principal temple in the capital. The priests were allowed to marry ; they did not live apart in monastic seclusion, but shared in the duties and responsibilities of life. The education of the young was, in particular, intrusted to them. The girls were given to the care of priestesses, for women were allowed to exercise all sacerdotal functions except those of sacrifice. To each of the principal temples, lands were annexed for the maintenance of the priests, which, augmented by the policy or devotion of successive princes, had become extensive and valuable at the time of the Conquest. The religious order was also enriched with the first-fruits, and with the voluntary offerings, always considerable, of sincere piety and timid superstition. It was their duty to distribute in alms to the poor all that was not required for their own support. As Mr. Prescott justly remarks, there is a striking resemblance,

not merely in a few empty forms, but in the whole way of life, between the Mexican and Egyptian priesthood.

The religious system of the Aztecs was marked by singular incongruities, and naturally suggests the idea of two distinct sources, and that they had engrafted their own belief upon the purer faith of some elder race of higher culture. They recognized the existence of a Supreme Creator and Lord of the universe, of whose character and attributes they had no unworthy conceptions ; but a crowd of inferior deities presided over the elements, the changes of the seasons, and the various occupations of man. Their faith comprehended a future state of rewards and punishments, more refined in its character than that of the ancient Greeks or modern Mahometans. In their religious observances, as well as in their doctrines of belief, we recognize some singular coincidences with both Judaism and Christianity. The naming of children was accompanied with a ceremony closely resembling that of baptism. The head and lips of the infant were touched with water, and a prayer was offered, "that the sin which was given to us before the beginning of the world, might not visit the child, but that, cleansed by these waters, it might live and be born anew." The Catholic ecclesiastics saw with astonishment the rites of confession and absolution administered by their priests. Their traditionary accounts of the Deluge resembled, not only in the general outline, but in the particular details, the narrative of the same event as recorded by Moses ; and in the goddess Cioacoatl, "the serpent woman," "who bequeathed the sufferings of child-birth to women as the tribute of death," "by whom sin came into the world," may be traced an affinity, more than fanciful, with the Eve of the Hebrew Scriptures. The cross, too, was an object of worship in the Mexican temples, and one of their religious rites strikingly resembled the Christian Communion. Some of their religious precepts breathe the lofty morality of the New Testament. What mind is not startled at the remarkable coincidence contained in the declaration which is found among them, that "he who looks too curiously upon a woman commits adultery with his eyes"? The effect of these resemblances upon the heated minds of the Catholic ecclesiastics, the fanciful conjectures to which they gave birth, and the extent to which the parallel between their own faith and observances and

those of the Aztecs was pushed by them, will not excite our surprise. Such striking coincidences, too, will inspire us with some charity for Lord Kingsborough, an English nobleman, who, in our own times, has lavished a world of curious learning, and reasoning powers of no mean order, in support of the proposition, that Mexico was colonized by the Israelites; and who records, as his deliberate conviction, "that the Aztecs had a clear knowledge of the Old Testament, and most probably of the New, though somewhat corrupted by time and hieroglyphics"!

The sketch here given of the religious creed and observances of the Aztecs presents the fair side of the picture. The dark side cannot be contemplated without a shudder of horror. Among this people, to whom belonged so considerable a share of knowledge, civilization, and refinement, whose religion embraced so much that was pure and elevating, the practice of human sacrifices prevailed to an extent, compared with which, history has nowhere else recorded any thing that approaches to a parallel. The altars of their deities dripped with human blood. The fiercest superstitions of the Old World, — the dismal rites performed around the "furnace blue" of Moloch,

> "horrid king, besmeared with blood
> Of human sacrifice and parents' tears," —

are but faint types of the hideous abominations which were enacted in honor of the Mexican divinities. The bloody knife of the priest was never idle, and the steam of carnage was always fresh in the nostrils of their sullen gods. The number of human victims annually sacrificed to this merciless superstition throughout the empire is variously estimated at from twenty to fifty thousand. The necessity of providing victims for these sacrifices became a prominent motive for commencing or continuing wars. Hence, an enemy was never slain in battle, if there were a chance of taking him alive; a circumstance to which the Spaniards repeatedly owed their preservation. Nor is the worst yet told. That practice, from which the first instincts of our nature so strongly recoil, which we associate only with humanity in its lowest and most degraded forms, and which supposes the principle of humanity almost blotted out in him who indulges in it, — the practice of cannibalism, — prevailed among them,

not as the gratification of a brutish appetite, but sanctioned by religion, and mingling itself with the graces and amenities of social life. They feasted upon human flesh, not at coarse repasts like those of naked savages, snatching from the embers the quivering limbs of enemies slain in battle, but at elaborate banquets, where the appetite was stimulated and the senses gratified by all the means and appliances of civilization ; by delicate meats, by delicious fruits, by dishes of gold and silver, by garlands of flowers, by soft music and graceful dances. These hideous and loathsome usages, prevalent among a people with so many claims to the character of a civilized community, present one of the most singular anomalies that history has recorded, for which we seek in vain for any sufficient explanation, and which must ever remain as one of those perplexing facts that baffle the learned and confound the wise.

The Aztec civilization is seen in its highest form and most complete development among the Tezcucans, one of the kindred and allied races which were in possession of the valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Every reader, who feels an interest in the fate and fortunes of humanity, will be grateful to Mr. Prescott for the sketch which he has given, in the sixth chapter of his Introduction, of the golden age of this people ; of their wealth, their power, their scientific and literary culture, and their social refinement ; of the romantic fortunes and spendid career of their greatest monarch, Nezahualcoyotl, whose varied adventures are fruitful in themes for poetry, could any metre be devised sufficiently comprehensive and elastic to embrace his "dissonant consonant name," and were life long enough to admit of its frequent repetition. In his early perils and misfortunes, his subsequent renown and prosperity, his poetical genius, and the great crime which stains his memory, he presents a striking parallel to the monarch minstrel of the Jews. It is curious to observe, in the specimens of his poetry that have come down to us, the same law of the human mind which led a kindred spirit, in another age and country, to exclaim, "Vanity of vanities ! all is vanity !" that law, by virtue of which, the aspirations and desires of a finely organized nature keep ever in advance of the gifts and flatteries of Fortune ; which, in the palmy state of glory and success, where there is no more room for hope or fear,

suggests most vividly the thought of the instability of all human good, the frail tenure upon which earthly possessions are held, the emptiness of fame, the worthlessness of wealth, the shadowy and unsatisfying character of all that prosperity pours into the lap. The strains of the royal minstrel of Tezcuco are set upon the minor key. The luxuriance of a tropical imagination is tempered with a vein of gentle melancholy, and with a dash of that Epicurean philosophy which seeks in the joys of the present a relief from those gloomy forebodings which throw their dark shadows over the future. In the delicious solitudes of his rural palace, lulled by the sound of falling waters and fanned by gales of balm, he gave utterance to the vague sense of languid discontent in solemn and pathetic hymns, marked both by dignity of sentiment and beauty of illustration. In reading Mr. Prescott's very interesting account of this remarkable monarch, of his wisdom, his valor, his powers of action and of thought, his kindliness of nature, and his many virtues, we cannot but be struck with the caprice of fortune, which has allowed the rust of oblivion to gather upon his name and memory, while those of inferior mark shine with such undimmed lustre, through the gloom of the past. To most persons, the very existence of this wise, powerful, and gifted monarch will probably be a new revelation. So much more does fame depend upon the reporter than upon the deed ! To the accident of a Homer we owe it, that the name of Agamemnon is so familiar a sound, and Miltiades is mainly indebted to Herodotus, that the lapse of so many centuries has not withered one leaf of his laurels. But the shade of the Tezcucan monarch may now repose in peace. The hour and the man have at last come, that are to disperse the dark oblivious clouds that have so long hidden his name from the general eye. His virtues and genius are now embalmed in the beautiful periods of a book which the world will not let die. He may find a compensation for having waited so long, in the full blaze of reflected light now thrown upon his memory by the fame and talents of his historian.

Mr. Prescott has appended to his work a dissertation on the interesting and perplexing question of the origin of Mexican civilization. It is written in a cautious spirit, and the conclusion he arrives at is something like that of Dr. Johnson's Rasselas, "in which nothing is concluded." This

we say not by way of censure, but of commendation. This is preëminently one of those subjects upon which half knowledge is bold, and assured knowledge is diffident. Mr. Prescott did not start with a theory, and in his progress accept whatever confirmed it, and reject every thing inconsistent with it. His object was to state the case fairly ; to present in a popular form the result of all that had been written upon the subject ; to discriminate between the fanciful and the sober ; and to advance no conclusion to which he had not arrived by a legitimate process of inquiry and reflection. The reader who follows him through his preliminary observations, when he comes to the final summing up, will admit, that this is all which can be stated as matter of certainty, and that a single step further carries us from the firm earth of reality into the cloudland of conjecture. It is one of those mysterious questions, which, from the insuperable difficulties they present, administer a tacit rebuke to the pride of human intellect, by the bounds which they set to its progress, presenting depths which it cannot fathom and heights which it cannot scale. Whence came those races which passed in successive waves over the elevated plains of Mexico, and dwelt in the sunny regions of Central America ? What was the origin of that peculiar civilization, of which such authentic accounts are preserved to us, and which has left its visible memorials in the stupendous structures of Palenque and Uxmal ? Was it of exotic or indigenous growth ? If the former, how are we to account for the singular discrepancies between it and every form of European or Asiatic civilization with which we are acquainted ? If the latter, how are we to explain the striking resemblances, and how came the frightful elements of human sacrifice and cannibalism to be mingled with so much of intellectual culture and social refinement ? How many centuries are looking down upon us from those nodding ruins which the enterprise of one of our own countrymen has recently made familiar to us ? Were they the work of the same people who were in possession of the country when it was discovered by Europeans, or of another and higher race which had passed away and been lost in the night of ages ? All these questions press in vain for a satisfactory answer upon the mind lost in wandering mazes which find no end. The comprehensive glance of the philosophic historian, the

minute diligence of the pains-taking antiquary, the practical sagacity of the observing traveller are alike perplexed and baffled.

The Introduction and the Appendix, though separated by the entire narrative of the Conquest, form parts of the same subject. We commend the judgment which induced Mr. Prescott to throw his observations upon a point rather speculative than historical into an appendix, though his readers could certainly have had no reason to complain, had he incorporated them into the Introduction, with which they are naturally connected. The Introduction and the Appendix, taken together, comprise rather more than half a volume; and the value of Mr. Prescott's statements and opinions will be enhanced, and the conscientious spirit in which his investigations have been conducted will be appreciated, by a knowledge of the fact, that to the preparation of this half volume he has devoted the assiduous labor of two years and a half, with facilities and advantages such as no other person now living has at command. He is a bold man who, after this, will undertake to deny his facts or controvert his conclusions; and even to pronounce upon their correctness involves some spice of assurance.

We cannot take leave of this portion of the work, without again expressing our admiration of the great ability with which it has been executed. It cannot fail to add materially to Mr. Prescott's already distinguished literary reputation, especially as part of it requires those qualities of mind which belong rather to the philosopher than the historian, and which he was not called upon to put forth in his former work so distinctly, though in our age every historian must be more or less of a philosopher. For the investigation of questions of this kind, partly historical and partly speculative, he is very well fitted by his habits of patient industry, his sound judgment, his power of keeping his mind in a state of well-balanced suspense till all the means for coming to a result have been obtained, and that judicial skill in the weighing of testimony to which he has a hereditary claim. He has enough of the poetical temperament to feel the stimulating influence of those romantic elements in which his theme is so fruitful, and to give an appropriate richness and beauty to his style; yet his imagination never carries him to extravagant theories or wild conjectures, but is always under the wise

control of a dispassionate judgment. The most superficial reader perceives, that he has made himself a perfect master of the subject, and that he writes down upon it from a superior position. His knowledge, patiently acquired and long reflected upon, has become assimilated and blended with the substance of his mind, and is not the crude and half-digested result of a hurried process of cramming. We hail, with pride and pleasure, the accession to the stores of our young and glowing literature of contributions like this ; the work of a manly understanding, applying itself in sincerity and good faith to the investigation of subjects interesting to humanity, and proclaiming its results in a style marked by dignity, simplicity, and grace. These are among the best possessions of a nation ; the most enduring monuments of its glory ; better than the bloody prizes of war or the peaceful gains of skilful diplomacy, — inferior only to that lofty distinction which waits upon moral worth, upon unfaltering adherence to truth, justice, and good faith.

We can have no question, that this portion of the work will prove highly attractive and interesting, even to general readers. The subject is one about which much vague curiosity is felt, but very little is accurately known. Heretofore, there has been no one work, to which reference could be had, containing the results of exhausting research, conveyed in a popular form. The inquirer must have turned over many leaves and consulted many uninviting books, before he could gratify his curiosity. For general use and for the purposes of most scholars, Mr. Prescott's labors have quite superseded those of all other writers ; and the day is far distant, when his will be set aside by ampler knowledge or more felicity in communicating it. Many of his facts and details are quite new, having been drawn from manuscripts, or books almost as rare as manuscripts. The care with which this part of the work has been prepared is perceptible in the style, which, with all his usual ease and grace, has more than his usual finish. It never oversteps the limits of good taste, but is tinged with that rich glow of coloring, so suited to the subject, which kindles the imagination, and almost compels an author to interweave with his sober prose the more vivid hues of poetry. It will doubtless be Mr. Prescott's good fortune to make permanently popular a recondite and abstruse subject, and to put himself in the same

relation to his original authorities, in which Gibbon stands to monkish chroniclers and Byzantine historians.

Mr. Prescott's opinions on the origin of Mexican civilization were formed without reference to Mr. Stephens's publications, the essay which constitutes the Appendix having been prepared three years ago, and being now published as it was then written. The reader who compares this Appendix with the reflections of Mr. Stephens, contained in the closing chapters of his two works, will perceive a coincidence in some of their views. Conclusions formed under such different circumstances, by minds so unlike in their organization, by the student in his library, and the traveller under the sun and stars, certainly corroborate each other. It cannot but be a source of gratification to Mr. Prescott to find the results to which he has come confirmed by so intelligent an observer as Mr. Stephens, whose authority is entitled to much weight, even on speculative points. The latter, it is true, is not a man of learning, but he is, therefore, free from those "peccant humors of learning" which sometimes make the mind of the scholar "dark with excess of light." His strong sense, his sagacity, his shrewdness of observation, combined with the extraordinary opportunities he has enjoyed for personal inspection of the monuments of the Aztec civilization which are yet visible, give him the right to be heard with great respect, even upon questions on which the learned have speculated and the wise have doubted.

It may seem to our readers, that we have occupied a disproportionate space in our observations upon the Introduction and the Appendix, and that, as the narrative of the Conquest and of the subsequent events in the life of Cortés fills nearly two volumes and a half, it will not be possible for us to do equal justice to this, the main part of the work, without transcending the utmost limits allowed to a reviewer by the sufferance of editors and the courtesy of readers. But in dwelling so long upon the preliminary and supplemental matter, we have been influenced by a consideration rather of the novelty and interest of the subjects discussed, than of the comparative space which it occupies ; and we feel in some measure justified by the statement which Mr. Prescott makes in his Preface, that the Introduction and Appendix have cost him as much labor, and nearly as much time, as the narrative.

The moment that we land with Cortés upon the shores

of Mexico, we feel ourselves upon comparatively familiar ground. Few events in history are more extensively known, in their general outlines, than the conquest of Mexico. The romantic character of the enterprise itself, and the fact that it has been recorded by the classical pen of so popular a writer as Dr. Robertson, have made it one of those common-places of knowledge, with which every decently educated man is supposed to be acquainted. The names of Cortés and Montezuma are as familiar to the intelligent schoolboy, as those of Alexander and Darius. This is a disadvantage which must have presented itself distinctly to Mr. Prescott's mind, when he selected his subject. Nothing is more difficult than to give an attractive character to a thorough and detailed history of an event, which has been made universally popular by a well-written, though superficial sketch. It is like taking a traveller by slow stages, in an ordinary carriage, over a country through which he has been already whirled with the magic speed of steam. Such a journey can only be made pleasant by contriving that the resting-places shall be in spots interesting from their associations, or charming from their natural beauties of scenery and situation, and which the rapidity of his former mode of travelling compelled him to overlook. A somewhat similar necessity is imposed upon the historian who holds up to the view of the reader a subject in its full size and natural proportions, of which he has before seen a reduced copy in the pages of a skilful compiler. He must make his new matter so attractive, that the reader shall feel no impatience at the deliberate steps and slower movement by which the same point must now be approached. In this respect, Mr. Prescott has been eminently successful. We read with equal interest the minute details which were inconsistent with Dr. Robertson's flowing outline, and the new facts which Mr. Prescott's ampler sources of information have made known to him, and hang with fresh delight upon every page of an expanded narrative, the issue and leading events of which have long been familiar to us.

One of the "primal duties" of a historian is to give the very form and pressure of the time he is describing; to infuse its spirit into his pages; to paint his scenes to the eye as well as to the mind; to produce an effect resembling as nearly as possible the illusion created by seeing the events he narrates

represented by well-trained actors, with appropriate costume, scenery, and decorations. Here, too, Mr. Prescott has been signally successful. His mind is not of that passionless cast which preserves its own cold identity, while recording the most romantic adventures and the most gallant enterprises; but is sufficiently impressible and sympathetic to become "subdued to what it works in," and to catch a contagious glow from that fiery valor whose brilliant achievements he is called upon to narrate. In his animated pages, we see, as in the mirror of Cornelius Agrippa, the very shape and features of the sixteenth century. He makes us feel the electric influences which the successive discoveries in America propagated through the veins of Europe; what unbounded fields for enterprise the stirring spirits of the time saw in those unknown regions; what brilliant fortunes the stout soldier hoped to carve out for himself with his good sword, in that western world of promise; what golden dreams of untold wealth haunted the feverish slumbers of avarice; what noontide visions it beheld of El Dorado cities, where the tiles of the houses were of pure gold, and the streets were paved with ingots of silver; with what zeal the breast of the religious enthusiast glowed, to bring out of the thick darkness of idolatry into the light of the true faith the natives of those benighted lands. He paints to the life those hardy adventurers who landed with Cortés upon the shores of Mexico; men who seemed to be the peculiar growth of the soil of Spain, and expressly fitted to carry out those great schemes of discovery and conquest which the plans of Providence imposed upon that nation; men of iron frames and iron resolution, of deliberate valor, patient of hunger and thirst, cheerfully bearing the extremes of heat and cold, insensible to fatigue, conforming themselves to the most rigid discipline, calm in the midst of danger, and vigilant in the midst of security; men of the same mould and spirit as those from whom the "Great Captain" had formed that terrible Spanish infantry, from whose serried ranks the impetuous chivalry of France had recoiled, in shattered disarray, as the wave is thrown back in foam and spray from the cliffs of an iron-bound coast; men, too, stained by those vices which form the natural shading to the light of their stern military virtues; with hearts as hard and as cold as the steel of their swords; ferociously bigoted, remorselessly cruel, knowing no law but the will of their commander, prodigal, reckless, and dissolute.

With the same vivid pencil he has sketched the grand and beautiful scenery of Mexico, which awakened feelings of admiration even in the rude bosoms of the Spanish soldiers, steeled as they must have been against such soft emotions. We follow the army, step by step, through every part of their eventful progress. We march with them over the dreary sand plains of the coast; we traverse the luxuriant regions of the *tierra caliente*, glowing with all the splendors of tropical vegetation,—the land of the vanilla, cochineal, cacao, and, in later days, of the orange and the sugar-cane,—where the air is loaded with the fragrance of wild roses and honeysuckles,—where the mocking-bird pours out his "fiery heart" in a tide of song, and the fairy humming-bird rises from the delicate spray as lightly as if the flower itself had suddenly taken wings and flown from its stalk. We commence the gradual ascent which leads up to the table-land of Mexico, and breathe the purer and more bracing air of the *tierra templada*, where the more sober vegetation of the temperate zone begins to be mingled with the brilliant colors and fantastic forms of the tropics, and the aloe, the banana, and the myrtle are interspersed with groves of oak. The route winds round the base of extinct volcanoes, from whose snowy summits the wind sweeps down with piercing coldness. Higher up, we come upon that great central plain, which, at an elevation of seven thousand feet above the sea, stretches along the crests of the Cordilleras, and forms the highest of those natural terraces into which Mexico is distributed. Here the air is mild but invigorating, and the soil teems with a hardy growth of larch, oak, and cypress, now levelled by the merciless axe of the Conquerors, to recall, as it is said, more distinctly the image of those naked plains of Castile, which the force of memory and association had made so dear to them. Lying in the lap of this elevated plain, and encompassed by a towering rampart of rock, we behold the Valley of Mexico, an enchanted region of beauty and fertility, studded with towns and villages, overshadowed with stately forests, intermingled with blooming gardens and fields of maize twinkling in the sun, all brought near and presented to the eye in sharp distinctness of outline by the thin mountain air. The central point is occupied by the capital city, "the Venice of the Aztecs," floating swan-like upon the bosom of the waters, which reflect in softened beauty its towers and temples.

A single extract will be sufficient to show our readers, that we have not expressed too strongly our sense of the vividness and graphic power of Mr. Prescott's descriptions, and the clearness with which he paints a landscape to the eye. It is the passage which describes the first view which the Spaniards had of the Valley of Mexico.

"The army held on its march through the intricate gorges of the sierra. The route was nearly the same as that pursued at the present day by the courier from the capital to Puebla, by the way of Mecameca. It was not that usually taken by travellers from Vera Cruz, who follow the more circuitous road round the northern base of Iztaccihuatl, as less fatiguing than the other, though inferior in picturesque scenery and romantic points of view. The icy winds, that now swept down the sides of the mountains, brought with them a tempest of arrowy sleet and snow, from which the Christians suffered even more than the Tlascalans, reared from infancy among the wild solitudes of their own native hills. As night came on, their sufferings would have been intolerable, but they luckily found a shelter in the commodious stone buildings which the Mexican government had placed at stated intervals along the roads for the accommodation of the traveller and their own couriers. It little dreamed it was providing a protection for its enemies.

"The troops, refreshed by a night's rest, succeeded, early on the following day, in gaining the crest of the sierra of Ahualco, which stretches like a curtain between the two great mountains on the north and south. Their progress was now comparatively easy, and they marched forward with a buoyant step, as they felt they were treading the soil of Montezuma.

"They had not advanced far, when, turning an angle of the sierra, they suddenly came on a view which more than compensated the toils of the preceding day. It was that of the Valley of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan, as more commonly called by the natives; which, with its picturesque assemblage of water, woodland, and cultivated plains, its shining cities and shadowy hills, was spread out like some gay and gorgeous panorama before them. In the highly rarefied atmosphere of these upper regions, even remote objects have a brilliancy of coloring and a distinctness of outline which seem to annihilate distance. Stretching far away at their feet, were seen noble forests of oak, sycamore, and cedar, and beyond, yellow fields of maize and the towering maguey, intermingled with orchards and blooming gardens; for flowers, in such demand for their religious festivals, were even more abundant in this populous valley than in other parts of Ana-

huac. In the centre of the great basin were beheld the lakes, occupying then a much larger portion of its surface than at present; their borders thickly studded with towns and hamlets, and, in the midst, — like some Indian empress with her coronal of pearls, — the fair city of Mexico, with her white towers and pyramidal temples, reposing, as it were, on the bosom of the waters, — the far-famed 'Venice of the Aztecs.' High over all rose the royal hill of Chapoltepec, the residence of the Mexican monarchs, crowned with the same grove of gigantic cypresses, which at this day fling their broad shadows over the land. In the distance beyond the blue waters of the lake, and nearly screened by intervening foliage, was seen a shining speck, the rival capital of Tezcuco, and, still further on, the dark belt of porphyry, girdling the Valley around, like a rich setting which Nature had devised for the fairest of her jewels.

"Such was the beautiful vision which broke on the eyes of the Conquerors. And even now, when so sad a change has come over the scene; when the stately forests have been laid low, and the soil, unsheltered from the fierce radiance of a tropical sun, is in many places abandoned to sterility; when the waters have retired, leaving a broad and ghastly margin white with the incrustation of salts, while the cities and hamlets on their borders have mouldered into ruins; — even now that desolation broods over the landscape, so indestructible are the lines of beauty which Nature has traced on its features, that no traveller, however cold, can gaze on them with any other emotions than those of astonishment and rapture.

"What, then, must have been the emotions of the Spaniards, when, after working their toilsome way into the upper air, the cloudy tabernacle parted before their eyes, and they beheld these fair scenes in all their pristine magnificence and beauty! It was like the spectacle which greeted the eyes of Moses from the summit of Pisgah, and, in the warm glow of their feelings, they cried out, 'It is the promised land!'" — Vol. II. pp. 50 – 53.

In the use which Mr. Prescott has made of his various materials, in the apt distribution and symmetrical arrangement of his subject, in his observance of the rules of historical perspective, which give to the objects and figures of the foreground and background their appropriate dimensions, he has shown the same judgment and skill which were so signally displayed in the finished proportions of his history of Ferdinand and Isabella, and which distinguish the historian from the chronicler, the artist from the mechanic. After entering upon the narrative, an obvious difficulty pre-

sented itself in the sickening detail of battles and slaughter, which it became his duty to narrate. The course of the conquering army is everywhere to be tracked by bloody footprints. The clash of arms is interrupted only by short breathing-spaces of repose. The eye is wearied with the perpetual gleaming of steel, and the ear vexed with the constant rattle of musketry. Nothing is more tedious and revolting than the record of battles, where no great principle is at issue, where no precious prize is staked upon the result, where nothing is gained to humanity by the blood that is poured out, and where no sublime feeling of self-sacrifice sustains the fainting frame and lights up the dying eye with gleams of triumph. At Marathon or Bunker Hill, we can hang with interest upon every stroke that is dealt, and every shot that is fired, because the course of events and the progress of humanity have invested these contests with a dignity and importance which bear no proportion to the numbers engaged in them; but what eye can watch, with the same minuteness of observation, the bloody fields of carnage which mark the devastating career of Attila, Tamerlane, or Genghis Khan? Milton has remarked, and Hume has quoted the remark with approbation, that the wars of the Heptarchy are as little worth recording as the fights of kites or crows.

In the case of the battles fought by the Conquerors of Mexico, this feeling is enhanced by the pitiable odds between the contending parties. Until we come to the capital itself, where the Aztecs fought with the frantic desperation of a wild animal at bay, aided by the peculiar position and construction of the city, which were singularly suited to embarrass the movements of a besieging army, and to enable the inhabitants to act with advantage, there was nothing like a fair contest or an impartial distribution of danger. Their contests are not so much battles as massacres of the weak, the defenceless, and the unarmed by the strong and the armed, in which the work of death is only arrested by sheer weariness of muscle, and the sword is not sheathed till it is clogged with slaughter. Masses of naked Indians are brought forward only to be mowed down by the iron hail of artillery, to be trampled under foot by the fiery charge of horsemen, — an apparition that always paralyzed them with terror, — to be pierced through with lances, and cloven down with swords. In such cases, it is idle to talk of the disparity

of numbers. No amount of numbers can make the naked, the timid, and the weak commensurate antagonists to the strong, the brave, and the well armed. A thousand antelopes are not a match for a single lion. The Spaniards had advantages that more than made up for all numerical inferiority, in their horses and their firearms, which were equally new revelations to the simple Indians, and alike invested by them with supernatural terrors. Their crowded ranks only presented a fairer mark to the cannon and arquebuse, and made the confusion, into which they were thrown by charges of cavalry, more extensive and irremediable.

This difficulty did not escape Mr. Prescott's observation, and he has shown his usual judgment in the means employed to obviate it. He has relieved the bloody monotony of the Conquest by a variety of collateral matter, which throws light upon the main narrative, and furnishes us with the information necessary for understanding the story. With this view, he has introduced rather minute descriptions of the states or provinces through which the Spaniards passed in their march to the capital, — such as the holy city of Cholula, the Mecca or Jerusalem of the Aztec race, and the interesting republic of Tlascala, whose rocky fastnesses were defended by that unconquerable valor which seems the natural growth of a mountain soil. His frequent pictures of natural scenery afford the same grateful relief to the mind ; and the same purpose is served by the minute and animated accounts he gives us of the capital, its romantic situation, its peculiar structure, its architectural wonders ; and of Montezuma's habits of life, the ceremonials of his court, and the splendors of his palace. With all this, the eye is always kept fixed upon the city of Mexico as the central point in the picture, and the great prize to be struggled for, and wherever the story is likely to have an engrossing interest from its own nature, it is not broken by any interpolations.

Every well-conditioned mind, that prefers the open daylight of truth to the dim twilight of delusion, will feel pleasure in the distinct views which Mr. Prescott gives of an event, of which most persons, we apprehend, have rather a vague and cloudy impression. We usually read Robertson's narrative early in life, and retain ever afterwards a dreamy image of a romantic enterprise, with no clear apprehension of the means by which it was accomplished. As we look back upon it, it

seems something marvellous and unreal, like the wild adventures of knight-errantry, where giants are slain and princesses rescued, — where, by the prowess of a single arm, rightful kings are restored and usurpers are vanquished. No one will regret the removal of these clouds of delusion, though fancy may have painted them in colors of purple and gold. Amid all the enchantments of his subject, Mr. Prescott has kept unimpaired that sober tone of mind essential to historical inquiry ; has adhered scrupulously to facts, fortifying every statement by reference to original authorities ; has conscientiously investigated all doubtful or disputed points, and given us that full information upon all matters of detail, such as dates, numbers, and dimensions, which can alone make the knowledge we have of any matter entirely satisfactory. Under the guidance of his sagacious judgment and penetrating industry, we are enabled to trace that regular sequence of cause and effect in the successes of Cortés, which, astonishing as they were, takes away their supernatural character. While we acknowledge it to be a very extraordinary enterprise, we perceive that its favorable result was brought about by many accidental and unforeseen circumstances, without any one of which it must have been doubtful, and without some of them, impossible. How greatly, for instance, were they aided in their progress by that remarkable tradition, universally believed, which foretold the downfall of the Aztec empire by a race of men who should come from the East and resemble the Spaniards in physical peculiarities ! a tradition, of which they could have known nothing before they landed, and the effect of which upon so superstitious a people can hardly be overestimated. Of how great importance do we perceive it to be, that Cortés should have the means of communicating with the various tribes or communities which he encountered on his march, and how little to be foreseen were the chances which enabled him to do so by the combined aid of Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar ! How different a catastrophe might the historian have been called upon to record, if the resolute Guatemozin had occupied the throne, upon the landing of the Spaniards, instead of the vacillating and superstitious Montezuma ; or if the councils of Tlascala had been guided by the unconquerable spirit and clear-sighted sagacity of Xicotencatl ; or if Narvaez, who was sent to supersede Cortés, had been equal to him in en-

ergy and capacity ! And above all, how essentially were the plans of the Spaniards aided by the character of the Aztec empire itself ; an aggregate of distinct communities, with no natural cohesion, and bound together by no stronger ties than those of fear ! Like the iron and clay in the vision, the separate parts were united, but would not coalesce. Cortés conquered Mexico by dividing it ; by fanning into a flame the sparks of disaffection which the terror of Montezuma's name had kept smothered and concealed, by vanquishing the separate portions, and making their inhabitants his allies, and requiring them to serve under his banner. His Indian auxiliaries are entitled to at least an equal share in the honors of the conquest.

In what we have just said, we do not wish to be understood as at all detracting from the merit of those remarkable qualities of character displayed by the Conquerors of Mexico, and especially by Cortés, who was so eminently the heart and soul of the enterprise. Though, under the penetrating light which Mr. Prescott has brought to bear upon the achievement, it may have lost somewhat of its visionary glories, the substantial facts, which claim and justify our sober admiration, are set forth in more distinct relief. To appreciate fully the resolution, hardihood, and perseverance displayed by that band of adventurers, we must go back to their own age, and wrap round ourselves the cloud of their own ignorance. We must remember, that they were, at every step of their progress, discoverers as well as conquerors. They landed upon the shores of a country of which they knew nothing, and boldly set out upon their wonderful march, ignorant of what a day or an hour might bring forth. They knew not the extent or the resources of the country they invaded ; nor where was its capital city ; nor how far off was the ocean that washed its opposite shores. They knew not in what distinct shape the dangers they were to encounter would present themselves ; whether in that of hunger, or thirst, or cold, or opposing steel. They could not tell what pathless forests, what impassable chains of mountains, what desert wastes of sand might lie between them and the end of their march. It was literally a groping in the dark, where they could only feel sure of the ground on which their very feet were planted. And yet, in spite of all this, — in spite of the power which the imagination has in magnifying un-

known perils, they pressed resolutely on, with nothing but an occasional murmur of discontent, which the address of their leader found no difficulty in allaying, and certainly without any symptom of faint-heartedness. As they toilsomely climbed up the steep mountain-path, encumbered with blackened scoriæ and broken masses of lava, that told of volcanic fires hidden under their dazzling mantles of snow, that might at any moment break out and sweep them away in their resistless fury, and saw in the distant horizon that ocean, that connected them with the world they had left, gradually diminishing to a faint blue line, and at last entirely disappearing from their straining sight, not one cheek grew pale, not one eye was suffused with unmanly tears. What bounds should we set to our admiration of qualities like these, if they had only been exerted in the cause of truth, philanthropy, and religion, and not been dedicated to the service of sordid cupidity, selfish ambition, and ruthless bigotry?

The same effect will be produced in regard to the estimate, which we are now able to form, of the capacity and resources of Cortés. He seems to us to be a greater man than we had ever before supposed. Putting the moral element, the question of right and wrong, entirely aside, — we cannot refuse a constant tribute of admiration to the qualities of mind and character which he displays; to his sagacity, his forecast, his sound judgment, his fertility of invention, his inflexible resolution, his natural eloquence, and that mixture of dignity and affability which won at once the respect and attachment of his grim followers, who would not have brooked, for an hour, the authority of a leader who did not vindicate his claim to command by native superiority. We see in him the virtues alike of the soldier and the commander. Upon him the success of the enterprise rests, and the responsibility of a leader weighs heavily upon his brow, and banishes sleep from his lids; and yet, when the trumpet sounds, we find him gallantly fighting with his own hand, where the strife is most deadly, and the danger most pressing, deciding more than one battle by his own personal prowess; never elated by good fortune, never disheartened by reverses; counterfeiting a cheerfulness when he has it not, and inspiring a confidence which he does not feel. He forms his plans with cautious deliberation, and executes them with lightning-like rapidity. By a brilliant *coup-de-main*, he sur-

prises Narvaez in his bed, and crushes his formidable opposition at a single blow ; and that, too, with a mere handful of followers, badly clothed, imperfectly armed, and wasted by hunger and forced marches. The sagacity, with which he perceived the great assistance that might be derived from the use of brigantines upon the lake of Mexico, shows the prophetic eye of a great military genius ; and the plan, which he subsequently devised, and put into successful execution, of having thirteen vessels of war constructed at Tlascala, taken to pieces, transported sixty miles, across the mountains, on the shoulders of men, and then reconstructed and launched upon the lake, — a stupendous and unparalleled achievement, — is a proof of the highest fertility of invention, of resolute energy, and indomitable perseverance. The wary skill, too, with which he made his approaches to the devoted capital, preparatory to its final siege, the line of circumvallation which he gradually drew around it by his successive conquests, the wise disposition he made of his forces, all argue a military capacity of the highest order, which, had it been displayed upon the grander stage, and with the ampler means of European warfare, would have won such laurels as the " Great Captain " himself might have been proud to wear.

One of the most remarkable things in the conquest of Mexico is the short space of time in which it was accomplished. As this is a consideration which a reader is very likely to overlook in the interest of the narrative, we have thought it expedient to give a summary of the dates of the principal events, that it may be more distinctly presented to the mind. The Spaniards landed in Mexico on the twenty-first day of April, 1519. Some months are spent upon the coast, in founding the colony at Vera Cruz, and in friendly intercourse with the natives at Cempoalla. They begin their march to Mexico on the sixteenth day of August. They enter the city of Tlascala on the twenty-third day of September. They arrive at the city of Mexico on the eighth day of November, and pass the winter there. About the middle of May, 1520, Cortés leaves Mexico to encounter the forces of Narvaez, and returns there in triumph on the twenty-fourth day of June. On the first day of July, the Spaniards evacuate the city of Mexico. The battle of Otumba is fought on the eighth day of July ; and in a few days after, the victorious Spaniards reach the friendly city of Tlascala. The

remainder of the summer and the autumn are passed in wars with the neighbouring tribes, in various preparations, and in waiting for reinforcements. They set out from Tlascala, on their return to the city of Mexico, on the twenty-eighth day of December, and enter Tezcuco on the thirty-first day of the same month. Some months are spent in reducing various places bordering on the lake, preparatory to the siege of the capital. The brigantines are launched on the lake on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1521, and the siege soon after begins. The city is captured, and Guatemozin taken prisoner, on the thirteenth day of August of the same year, which completes the conquest. Thus, in little more than two years, was a large and powerful empire, covering a space twice as large as New England, added to the crown of Spain by a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, and fighting at their own charges. What parallel can history furnish to this?

The nature of the enterprise, and the small number of conspicuous persons engaged in it, give the historian but a limited range for the delineation of character. With the exception of Doña Marina, whose gentle and feminine traits shine out from the scenes of blood and violence in which she appears, like "a sunbeam on a stormy sea," and whose amiable qualities have caused her name and memory to be cherished with equal fondness by the descendants of the conquerors and the conquered, our attention is almost wholly absorbed by the two principal personages on each side, Montezuma and Cortés, so unlike in character and in fortune.

No one can look without a feeling of compassionate interest upon the portrait of the Indian Emperor, prefixed to the second volume, which, if not authentic, at least deserves to be so. It has the melancholy expression of one who feels himself unequal to the duties which have been imposed upon him by the hand of Destiny. We read in that drooping brow, and in that "dejected havior of the visage," a consciousness, that the fortunes of the Aztec race, once so flourishing and palmy, had, in his person, fallen "into the sear, the yellow leaf," — that that star of empire, which had so proudly blazed upon the western sky, was now to go down in darkness and blood. He seems to have been one of those characters, not uncommon in history, who, in ordinary times, succeed in giving to others the impression of

qualities which they do not possess, by the aid which they derive from the circumstances of their position, and the fortunate accidents of their lot; as a strong man can easily appear brave, and a rich man cheaply acquires the reputation of generosity. Called in the prime of life to occupy the throne of a great empire, commanding large armies, and wielding extensive military resources, aided, too, by the divinity that hedged his person and office in the eyes of his subjects, he makes his name a word of terror throughout the whole extent of Mexico, — at which the boldest cheek turns pale, and the stoutest heart throbs with uncomfortable apprehensions. The Spaniards are everywhere told of his military prowess, his irresistible power, the haughty severity of his manners, the terrors of his awakened wrath. Every thing that we hear leads us to expect a character of the heroic stamp, — resolute of purpose, prompt in action, — who would oppose to the progress of the invaders a courage as fiery, and a constancy of purpose as inflexible, as their own. Yet when peril assails him in an unprecedented form, and he falls upon times that try the temper of his soul; when his palace is darkened by rumors of the mysterious beings that have landed upon the coast, and are marching, in spite of all opposition and resistance, towards the capital; we find him timid, irresolute, vacillating, and short-sighted; an object alternately of pity and contempt. He is ever halting between two opinions; now taking counsel of his hopes, and now of his fears; losing in weak indecision the golden moments of opportunity; looking in vain in the oracles of destiny for that support which he should have found in the manly promptings of his own breast; and at last adopting that halfway course, which was of all others the most impolitic, since it revealed at once his weakness and his wealth. The reader will find a peculiar interest in all the details which Mr. Prescott has given us of the life, character, and habits of this monarch, and especially in the personal anecdotes recorded of him, while a captive in the hands of the Spaniards. The impression which they leave upon us is that of delicacy, gentleness, courtesy, and generosity, — of more of the Christian virtues than dwelt in the stern bosom of his Catholic rival; and that, if he was a weak sovereign, he was endowed

The following is Mr. Prescott's beautiful sketch of the closing hours of the unfortunate monarch.

"The Indian monarch had rapidly declined, since he had received his injury, sinking, however, quite as much under the anguish of a wounded spirit, as under disease. He continued in the same moody state of insensibility as that already described; holding little communication with those around him, deaf to consolation, obstinately rejecting all medical remedies as well as nourishment. Perceiving his end approach, some of the cavaliers present in the fortress, whom the kindness of his manners had personally attached to him, were anxious to save the soul of the dying prince from the sad doom of those who perish in the darkness of unbelief. They accordingly waited on him, with father Olmedo at their head, and in the most earnest manner implored him to open his eyes to the error of his creed, and consent to be baptized. But Montezuma — whatever may have been suggested to the contrary — seems never to have faltered in his hereditary faith, or to have contemplated becoming an apostate; for surely he merits that name in its most odious application, who, whether Christian or Pagan, renounces his religion without conviction of its falsehood. Indeed, it was a too implicit reliance on its oracles, which had led him to give such easy confidence to the Spaniards. His intercourse with them had, doubtless, not sharpened his desire to embrace their communion; and the calamities of his country he might consider as sent by his gods to punish him for his hospitality to those who had desecrated and destroyed their shrines.

"When father Olmedo, therefore, kneeling at his side, with the uplifted crucifix, affectionately besought him to embrace the sign of man's redemption, he coldly repulsed the priest, exclaiming, 'I have but a few moments to live; and will not, at this hour, desert the faith of my fathers.' One thing, however, seemed to press heavily on Montezuma's mind. This was the fate of his children, especially of three daughters, whom he had by his two wives; for there were certain rites of marriage, which distinguished the lawful wife from the concubine. Calling Cortés to his bedside, he earnestly commended these children to his care, as 'the most precious jewels that he could leave him.' He besought the general to interest his master, the Emperor, in their behalf, and to see that they should not be left destitute, but be allowed some portion of their rightful inheritance. 'Your lord will do this,' he concluded, 'if it were only for the friendly offices I have rendered the Spaniards, and for the love I have shown them, — though it has brought me to this condition! But for this I bear them no ill-will.' Such, according to Cortés him-

self, were the words of the dying monarch. Not long after, on the 30th of June, 1520, he expired in the arms of some of his own nobles, who still remained faithful in their attendance on his person. 'Thus,' exclaims a native historian, one of his enemies, a Tlascalan, 'thus died the unfortunate Montezuma, who had swayed the sceptre with such consummate policy and wisdom; and who was held in greater reverence and awe than any other prince of his lineage, or any, indeed, that ever sat on a throne in this Western World. With him may be said to have terminated the royal line of the Aztecs, and the glory to have passed away from the empire, which under him had reached the zenith of its prosperity.' 'The tidings of his death,' says the old Castilian chronicler, Diaz, 'were received with real grief by every cavalier and soldier in the army who had had access to his person; for we all loved him as a father, — and no wonder, seeing how good he was.' This simple, but emphatic, testimony to his desert, at such a time, is in itself the best refutation of the suspicions occasionally entertained of his fidelity to the Christians.

"It is not easy to depict the portrait of Montezuma in its true colors, since it has been exhibited to us under two aspects, of the most opposite and contradictory character. In the accounts gathered of him by the Spaniards, on coming into the country, he was uniformly represented as bold and warlike, unscrupulous as to the means of gratifying his ambition, hollow and perfidious, the terror of his foes, with a haughty bearing which made him feared even by his own people. They found him, on the contrary, not merely affable and gracious, but disposed to waive all the advantages of his own position, and to place them on a footing with himself; making their wishes his law; gentle even to effeminacy in his deportment, and constant in his friendship, while his whole nation was in arms against them. Yet these traits, so contradictory, were truly enough drawn. They are to be explained by the extraordinary circumstances of his position.

"When Montezuma ascended the throne, he was scarcely twenty-three years of age. Young, and ambitious of extending his empire, he was continually engaged in war, and is said to have been present himself in nine pitched battles. He was greatly renowned for his martial prowess, for he belonged to the *Quachictin*, the highest military order of his nation, and one into which but few, even of its sovereigns, had been admitted. In later life, he preferred intrigue to violence, as more consonant to his character and priestly education. In this he was as great an adept as any prince of his time, and, by arts not very honorable to himself, succeeded in filching away much of the territory of his royal kinsman of Tezcuco. Severe in the administration of

justice, he made important reforms in the arrangement of the tribunals. He introduced other innovations in the royal household, creating new offices, introducing a lavish magnificence and forms of courtly etiquette unknown to his ruder predecessors. He was, in short, most attentive to all that concerned the exterior and pomp of royalty. Stately and decorous, he was careful of his own dignity, and might be said to be as great an 'actor of majesty' among the barbarian potentates of the New World, as Louis the Fourteenth was among the polished princes of Europe.

"He was deeply tinctured, moreover, with that spirit of bigotry, which threw such a shade over the latter days of the French monarch. He received the Spaniards as the beings predicted by his oracles. The anxious dread, with which he had evaded their proffered visit, was founded on the same feelings which led him so blindly to resign himself to them on their approach. He felt himself rebuked by their superior genius. He at once conceded all that they demanded, — his treasures, his power, even his person. For their sake, he forsook his wonted occupations, his pleasures, his most familiar habits. He might be said to forego his nature; and, as his subjects asserted, to change his sex and become a woman. If we cannot refuse our contempt for the pusillanimity of the Aztec monarch, it should be mitigated by the consideration, that his pusillanimity sprung from his superstition, and that superstition in the savage is the substitute for religious principle in the civilized man.

"It is not easy to contemplate the fate of Montezuma without feelings of the strongest compassion; — to see him thus borne along the tide of events beyond his power to avert or control; to see him, like some stately tree, the pride of his own Indian forests, towering aloft in the pomp and majesty of its branches, by its very eminence a mark for the thunderbolt, the first victim of the tempest which was to sweep over its native hills! When the wise king of Tezcuco addressed his royal relative at his coronation, he exclaimed, 'Happy the empire, which is now in the meridian of its prosperity, for the sceptre is given to one whom the Almighty has in his keeping; and the nations shall hold him in reverence!' Alas! the subject of this auspicious invocation lived to see his empire melt away like the winter's wreath; to see a strange race drop, as it were, from the clouds on his land; to find himself a prisoner in the palace of his fathers, the companion of those who were the enemies of his gods and his people; to be insulted, reviled, trodden in the dust, by the meanest of his subjects, by those who, a few months previous, had trembled at his glance; drawing his last breath in the halls of the

stranger, — a lonely outcast in the heart of his own capital! He was the sad victim of destiny, — a destiny as dark and irresistible in its march, as that which broods over the mythic legends of Antiquity!" — Vol. II. pp. 342 – 351.

The colossal character of Cortés, however, absorbs our attention, to the exclusion of almost every thing else. He fills the whole canvass with his mighty stature, and every other personage seems dwarfed by his side. The details which Mr. Prescott has given us of his life, before and after the Conquest, supply us with the means of tracing the connexion and affinity between his tumultuous youth, — restless and uneasy, like that of Oliver Cromwell, from the want of a sphere adequate to his vast energies, — his fiery and enterprising manhood, and his dignified and peaceful decline. We commend entirely the course adopted by Mr. Prescott, in continuing the narrative to the death of Cortés, though the story of the Conquest terminates with the fall of the capital. This impairs, it is true, the proportions of the subject as a narrative of the Conquest, but preserves them more entire as a biography of Cortés, which, in fact, the work really is. The Conquest was only a chapter, though a long and important one, in the crowded life of this extraordinary man. The transition, too, from the horrors of an exterminating contest, and the sickening details of famine and carnage, to the quiet walks of civilization, the aspect of reviving prosperity, the hum of regular industry, the peaceful victories of agriculture, and the progress of maritime discovery, will be felt as a grateful relief to the mind, grown familiar with so much that makes war hateful, so little that makes it stirring. Many of the facts in his life, subsequent to the Conquest, have been drawn from original materials, and will have all the attraction of novelty. The reader will learn with surprise the interesting details of a career of adventurous enterprise after that event, which, in the apprehension of most persons, comprises all the claims of Cortés to be remembered as a historical personage. The respect and admiration, which were awakened by the energy and capacity displayed in the Conquest, will be enhanced by the wisdom which he showed in the government of the country he had won, and by the generous ardor with which, at the lavish sacrifice of his own resources, he prosecuted his schemes of maritime discovery. Most men would have thought the distinction ac-

quired by so wonderful an achievement, a sufficient apology for a life of ease and self-indulgence ; especially as the gratitude of his sovereign had rewarded his inestimable services with honor and wealth, — those glittering prizes which awaken all the faculties in their pursuit, but which, when won, are more likely to blunt than to sharpen the edge of enterprise. He surely might have been pardoned, if, after the toils and perils of the Conquest, he had retired to his ample estates, and quietly occupied himself with their cultivation and improvement, entertaining the friends whom he had gathered round his hospitable table with stories of the dangers he had passed, and perhaps, (as he could handle the pen no less than the sword,) amusing himself with writing a full and connected narrative of those events, of which he had transmitted official reports to his sovereign. But Cortés was a man of another stamp. His indefatigable energy was of that kind which neither wealth, nor honor, nor advancing years had any power to chill or repress. His terrible march to Honduras shows, in their unabated force, all those astonishing qualities of hardihood, resolution, and constancy, which had raised a nameless adventurer to a level with the highest and proudest of the nobles of his country. The voyages of discovery, which he planned with so much sagacity and prosecuted with so much ardor, would, as Mr. Prescott justly observes, have made the glory and satisfied the ambition of a common man ; but they are lost in the brilliant renown of his former achievements. In his fifty-eighth year, we find him embarked as a volunteer in the memorable expedition against Algiers, and, with all his youthful fire, offering to undertake the reduction of the place himself, with the support of the army, and save the arms of Spain from the humiliation of a repulse. The regulations, too, which he made, immediately after the Conquest, for the government of the country he had won, the means which he adopted to repair the ravages of war, to accomplish the settlement of unoccupied territories, and to augment its agricultural resources, show the far-sighted views of a wise statesman, and that great injustice is done by those who confound him with the common herd of successful military adventurers. His is certainly one of the memorable names in history ; endowed with extraordinary qualities of mind and character, which we should never overlook or be insensible to, however strongly our moral indigna-

tion may be awakened by the ends to which he dedicated them.

We quote a portion of Mr. Prescott's eloquent and discriminating estimate of the character of Cortés.

"The personal history of Cortés has been so minutely detailed in the preceding narrative, that it will only be necessary to touch on the more prominent features of his character. Indeed, the history of the Conquest, as I have already had occasion to remark, is necessarily that of Cortés, who is, if I may so say, not merely the soul, but the body, of the enterprise; present everywhere in person, in the thick of the fight, or in the building of the works, with his sword or with his musket, sometimes leading his soldiers, and sometimes directing his little navy. The negotiations, intrigues, correspondence, are all conducted by him; and, like Cæsar, he wrote his own Commentaries in the heat of the stirring scenes which form the subject of them. His character is marked with the most opposite traits, embracing qualities apparently the most incompatible. He was avaricious, yet liberal; bold to desperation, yet cautious and calculating in his plans; magnanimous, yet very cunning; courteous and affable in his deportment, yet inexorably stern; lax in his notions of morality, yet (not uncommon) a sad bigot. The great feature in his character was constancy of purpose; a constancy not to be daunted by danger, nor baffled by disappointment, nor wearied out by impediments and delays.

"He was a knight-errant, in the literal sense of the word. Of all the band of adventurous cavaliers, whom Spain, in the sixteenth century, sent forth on the career of discovery and conquest, there was none more deeply filled with the spirit of romantic enterprise than Hernando Cortés. Dangers and difficulties, instead of deterring, seemed to have a charm in his eyes. They were necessary to rouse him to a full consciousness of his powers. He grappled with them at the outset, and, if I may so express myself, seemed to prefer to take his enterprises by the most difficult side. He conceived, at the first moment of his landing in Mexico, the design of its conquest. When he saw the strength of its civilization, he was not turned from his purpose. When he was assailed by the superior force of Narvaez, he still persisted in it; and, when he was driven in ruin from the capital, he still cherished his original idea. How successfully he carried it into execution, we have seen. After the few years of repose which succeeded the Conquest, his adventurous spirit impelled him to that dreary march across the marshes of Chiapa; and, after another interval, to seek his fortunes on the stormy

Californian Gulf. When he found that no other continent remained for him to conquer, he made serious proposals to the Emperor to equip a fleet at his own expense, with which he would sail to the Moluccas, and subdue the Spice-Islands for the Crown of Castile!

"This spirit of knight-errantry might lead us to undervalue his talents as a general, and to regard him merely in the light of a lucky adventurer. But this would be doing him injustice; for Cortés was certainly a great general, if that man be one, who performs great achievements with the resources which his own genius has created. There is probably no instance in history, where so vast an enterprise has been achieved by means apparently so inadequate. He may be truly said to have effected the Conquest by his own resources. If he was indebted for his success to the coöperation of the Indian tribes, it was the force of his genius that obtained command of such materials. He arrested the arm that was lifted to smite him, and made it do battle in his behalf. He beat the Tlascalans, and made them his stanch allies. He beat the soldiers of Narvaez, and doubled his effective force by it. When his own men deserted him, he did not desert himself. He drew them back by degrees, and compelled them to act by his will, till they were all as one man. He brought together the most miscellaneous collection of mercenaries who ever fought under one standard; adventurers from Cuba and the Isles, craving for gold; hidalgos, who came from the old country to win laurels; broken-down cavaliers, who hoped to mend their fortunes in the New World; vagabonds flying from justice; the grasping followers of Narvaez, and his own reckless veterans, — men with hardly a common tie, and burning with the spirit of jealousy and faction; wild tribes of the natives from all parts of the country, who had been sworn enemies from their cradles, and who had only met to cut one another's throats, and to procure victims for sacrifice; men, in short, differing in race, in language, and in interests, with scarcely any thing in common among them. Yet this motley congregation was assembled in one camp, compelled to bend to the will of one man, to consort together in harmony, to breathe, as it were, one spirit, and to move on a common principle of action! It is in this wonderful power over the discordant masses thus gathered under his banner, that we recognise the genius of the great commander, no less than in the skill of his military operations.

"His power over the minds of his soldiers was a natural result of their confidence in his abilities. But it is also to be attributed to his popular manners, — that happy union of authori-

ty and companionship, which fitted him for the command of a band of roving adventurers. It would not have done for him to have fenced himself round with the stately reserve of a commander of regular forces. He was embarked with his men in a common adventure, and nearly on terms of equality, since he held his commission by no legal warrant. But, while he indulged this freedom and familiarity with his soldiers, he never allowed it to interfere with their strict obedience, nor to impair the severity of discipline. When he had risen to higher consideration, although he affected more state, he still admitted his veterans to the same intimacy. 'He preferred,' says Diaz, 'to be called "Cortés" by us, to being called by any title; and with good reason,' continues the enthusiastic old cavalier, 'for the name of Cortés is as famous in our day as was that of Cæsar among the Romans, or of Hannibal among the Carthaginians.' He showed the same kind regard towards his ancient comrades in the very last act of his life. For he appropriated a sum by his will for the celebration of two thousand masses for the souls of those who had fought with him in the campaigns of Mexico.

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"One trait more remains to be noticed in the character of this remarkable man; that is, his bigotry, the failing of the age, — for, surely, it should be termed only a failing. When we see the hand, red with the blood of the wretched native, raised to invoke the blessing of Heaven on the cause which it maintains, we experience something like a sensation of disgust at the act, and a doubt of its sincerity. But this is unjust. We should throw ourselves back (it cannot be too often repeated) into the age; the age of the Crusades. For every Spanish cavalier, however sordid and selfish might be his private motives, felt himself to be the soldier of the Cross. Many of them would have died in defence of it. Whoever has read the correspondence of Cortés, or, still more, has attended to the circumstances of his career, will hardly doubt that he would have been among the first to lay down his life for the Faith. He more than once perilled life, and fortune, and the success of his whole enterprise, by the premature and most impolitic manner in which he would have forced conversion on the natives. To the more rational spirit of the present day, enlightened by a purer Christianity, it may seem difficult to reconcile gross deviations from morals with such devotion to the cause of religion. But the religion taught in that day was one of form and elaborate ceremony. In the punctilious attention to discipline, the spirit of Christianity was permitted to evaporate. The mind, occupied with forms, thinks little of substance. In a worship that is ad-

dressed too exclusively to the senses, it is often the case, that morality becomes divorced from religion, and the measure of righteousness is determined by the creed rather than by the conduct." — Vol. III. pp. 352 – 362.

It may be objected by some persons, that Mr. Prescott has not reprobated with sufficient severity the cruel excesses with which the conquest of Mexico was stained, and that, especially, he has passed too mild a sentence upon the character of Cortés. Undoubtedly, there is room for a tone of more indignant declamation on these points than Mr. Prescott has indulged himself in, and a writer of more impassioned temperament would probably have recorded a more stern and vehement protest. Readers of an enthusiastic humanity will be very likely to regret the measured language which he employs. But they should hear before they condemn. Mr. Prescott did not feel himself called upon to take the ground of a moralist, and to use the events of the Conquest as a theme upon which to discourse, and by means of which to inspire a just horror of bigotry aud cruelty. He felt it to be his duty to preserve that sobriety of mind which is ever appropriate to a historian, and to give the Spaniards the advantage, to which they are fairly entitled, of being judged by the standard of their own age — of being tried by their peers. In weighing the errors and crimes which darken the page of history, allowance must be made for the influences of different periods of society, and for the state of public opinion at the time. We must be satisfied, if men are no worse than their neighbours. We have no right to apply to one age the moral standard of another. We do not condemn the suicide of Cato as we do that of a modern felon. If a Lord Chancellor in our times should accept a present from a suitor in his court, a deeper weight of obloquy would rest upon his name than weighs down the memory of the illustrious Bacon, because in his days the practice was not without precedent. A member of Parliament, who should now defend the slave-trade with such arguments as were listened to with favor in the year seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, would find his voice lost in a general hiss of indignation. We do not judge Dryden as we should a dramatic author who should now insult the public with the ribaldry of his "Limberham," or "Wild Gallant." This principle Mr. Prescott has kept steadily in view. He extenuates nothing,

and apologizes for nothing. He relates in temperate language every enormity of the Conquerors, and furnishes them with the explanation to which they are fairly entitled. Now, a reader has a right to say, that this is not the way in which history should be written. He may prefer, that the historian should look at all moral questions from the point of view supplied by his own age, and may insist, that the interests of truth require that all historical personages should be tried by the highest standard. It may be so. But this is not the question. The point at issue is, whether Mr. Prescott is not right, if you grant him his own premises. Take the character of Cortés. It is admitted, that he was treacherous, bigoted, and cruel, and that our admiration of his energy and capacity is ever checked by the moral reprobation which his conduct awakens. But was he any worse than the conspicuous men of action in his time, always excepting Columbus, who was raised above his contemporaries not less by the purity of his motives than by the grandeur of his genius? Nay, more; of all the successful soldiers who have scourged the earth, — the hunters of mankind, from Nimrod to Napoleon, — how many have left a whiter name than his? How many have ever shrunk from falsehood, or cruelty, when an obstacle was to be removed or an advantage to be gained? We abhor the character of Cortés, it is true; but we no less abhor that of hundreds of others of the great names of history, — men who have carved out kingdoms with their swords, who have founded families, and won wealth and honor, whose praises have been sung by venal minstrels, and whose features and forms the glowing canvass and the breathing marble have transmitted to posterity.

The materials for the history of the Conquest, both in manuscript and in print, are various and ample. The writings of Las Casas, Herrera, Oviedo, Camargo, and Toribio furnish information more or less authentic, and either directly or incidentally useful. The letters of Cortés are of great value, as having been written on the spot by the principal actor in the scenes commemorated; but we need dwell no further upon these, as they form the subject of an article in our last Number.* Two of the principal authorities are

* We take the liberty here of correcting a statement, which was inadvertently made in that article, that the publication of Mr. Folsom contains a translation of *all* the despatches of Cortés now extant. There are some which still remain in manuscript, having never been printed.

the chronicles of Gomara and of Bernal Diaz, men resembling each other as little as any two authors who have ever written on the same subject. Gomara was a churchman and a scholar. He became the chaplain of Cortés, upon his return to Spain, after the Conquest, and, after his death, continued in the service of his son. The simple elegance of his style, and the skill with which he arranged his materials, have made his work extensively and permanently popular. His information was derived from the highest sources,—from Cortés himself, and from the other leading actors in the scenes he records. His position in the family of Cortés, however, while it afforded him such advantages in the accumulation of facts, naturally gave him a bias in favor of his patron, which is very perceptible in his work, and which has impaired its value as an authentic history. To the faults of Cortés he is more than a little blind, and to his virtues he is very kind. But we must not judge him too severely. Sturdy independence is a quality for which the chaplains of great men have not, in any age, been famous. The humble and dependent ecclesiastic must have been a man of superhuman virtue to write with strict impartiality the life of his "honored patron," (to borrow a phrase of poor Peter Pattieson,) to whom he had been so long indebted for protection and for bread. A man of letters does not flourish well in a great man's shadow.

Bernal Diaz is a writer of quite a different stamp. He was a rough soldier, as little accustomed to the pen as Gomara was to the pike or arquebuse. He was one of those hardy adventurers who left the Old World to seek their fortunes in the New. After various toilsome and perilous enterprises, he enlisted under the banners of Cortés, and remained with him till the close of the Conquest. He was engaged in more than a hundred battles and rencontres, in no one of which did an enemy ever see his back. He was as faithful to his commander as he was brave, and was honored by him with various offices of trust and responsibility. In his old age, nearly half a century after the Conquest, we find him established as *regidor* of the city of Guatemala, having survived his general and nearly all his companions in arms. Here he was doubtless allowed the privileges of an old campaigner; to tell stories of the Conquest, as interminable as those of Dugald Dalgetty about the "Lion of the North";

and to rail in good set terms at the caprice of fortune, which, after all his toils and dangers, had not recompensed him with either wealth or honors. He wrote his chronicle when very old. He was induced to write by a wish to vindicate to himself and his companions their share in the renown of the Conquest, which was likely to be absorbed by the great reputation of their leader; and he was further stimulated to continue his narrative by a desire to correct the errors and inaccuracies of Gomara, whose work he did not meet with till he had begun his own. His chronicle is quite a remarkable book, as will appear from Mr. Prescott's own observations upon it.

"Bernal Diaz, the untutored child of nature, is a most true and literal copyist of nature. He transfers the scenes of real life by a sort of *daguerreotype* process, if I may so say, to his pages. He is among chroniclers what De Foe is among novelists. He introduces us into the heart of the camp, we huddle round the bivouac with the soldiers, loiter with them on their wearisome marches, listen to their stories, their murmurs of discontent, their plans of conquest, their hopes, their triumphs, their disappointments. All the picturesque scenes and romantic incidents of the campaign are reflected in his page as in a mirror. The lapse of fifty years has had no power over the spirit of the veteran. The fire of youth glows in every line of his rude history; and, as he calls up the scenes of the past, the remembrance of the brave companions who are gone gives, it may be, a warmer coloring to the picture, than if it had been made at an earlier period. Time, and reflection, and the apprehensions for the future, which might steal over the evening of life, have no power over the settled opinions of his earlier days. He has no misgivings as to the right of conquest, or as to the justice of the severities inflicted on the natives. He is still the soldier of the Cross; and those who fell by his side in the fight were martyrs for the faith. 'Where are now my companions?' he asks; 'they have fallen in battle, or been devoured by the cannibal, or been thrown to fatten the wild beasts in their cages! they whose remains should rather have been gathered under monuments emblazoned with their achievements, which deserve to be commemorated in letters of gold; for they died in the service of God and of his Majesty, and to give light to those who sat in darkness, — *and also to acquire that wealth which most men covet.*' The last motive — thus tardily and incidentally expressed — may be thought by some to furnish a better key than either of the preceding to the conduct of the Conquerors. It is, at all

events, a specimen of that *naïveté* which gives an irresistible charm to the old chronicler; and which, in spite of himself, unlocks his bosom, as it were, and lays it open to the eye of the reader.

"It may seem extraordinary, that, after so long an interval, the incidents of his campaigns should have been so freshly remembered. But we must consider, that they were of the most strange and romantic character, well fitted to make an impression on a young and susceptible imagination. They had probably been rehearsed by the veteran again and again to his family and friends, until every passage of the war was as familiar to his mind as the 'tale of Troy' to the Greek rhapsodist, or the interminable adventures of Sir Lancelot or Sir Gawain to the Norman minstrel. The throwing of his narrative into the form of chronicle was but repeating it once more.

"The literary merits of the work are of a very humble order; as might be expected from the condition of the writer. He has not even the art to conceal his own vulgar vanity, which breaks out with a truly comic ostentation in every page of the narrative. And yet we should have charity for this, when we find that it is attended with no disposition to depreciate the merits of others, and that its display may be referred in part to the singular simplicity of the man. He honestly confesses his infirmity, though, indeed, to excuse it. 'When my chronicle was finished,' he says, 'I submitted it to two licentiates, who were desirous of reading the story, and for whom I felt all the respect which an ignorant man naturally feels for a scholar. I besought them, at the same time, to make no change or correction in the manuscript, as all there was set down in good faith. When they had read the work, they much commended me for my wonderful memory. The language, they said, was good old Castilian, without any of the flourishes and finicalities so much affected by our fine writers. But they remarked, that it would have been as well, if I had not praised myself and my comrades so liberally, but had left that to others. To this I answered, that it was common for neighbours and kindred to speak kindly of one another; and, if we did not speak well of ourselves, who would? Who else witnessed our exploits and our battles, — unless, indeed, the clouds in the sky, and the birds that were flying over our heads?'

"Notwithstanding the liberal encomiums passed by the licentiates on our author's style, it is of a very homely texture; abounding in colloquial barbarisms, and seasoned occasionally by the piquant sallies of the camp. It has the merit, however, of clearly conveying the writer's thoughts, and is well suited to

their simple character. His narrative is put together with even less skill than is usual among his craft, and abounds in digressions and repetitions, such as vulgar gossips are apt to use in telling their stories. But it is superfluous to criticize a work by the rules of art, which was written manifestly in total ignorance of those rules; and which, however we may criticize it, will be read and re-read by the scholar and the school-boy, while the compositions of more classic chroniclers sleep undisturbed on their shelves.

"In what, then, lies the charm of the work? In that spirit of truth which pervades it; which shows us situations as they were, and sentiments as they really existed in the heart of the writer. It is this which imparts a living interest to his story; and which is more frequently found in the productions of the untutored penman solely intent upon facts, than in those of the ripe and fastidious scholar occupied with the mode of expressing them.

"It was by a mere chance that this inimitable chronicle was rescued from the oblivion into which so many works of higher pretensions have fallen in the Peninsula. For more than sixty years after its composition, the manuscript lay concealed in the obscurity of a private library, when it was put into the hands of Father Alonso Remon, Chronicler General of the Order of Mercy. He had the sagacity to discover, under its rude exterior, its high value in illustrating the history of the Conquest. He obtained a license for the publication of the work, and under his auspices it appeared at Madrid in 1632, — the edition used in the preparation of these volumes." — Vol. II. pp. 478 – 480.

The above extract is from a part of Mr. Prescott's book which we commend to the particular attention of his readers, some of whom might, but for this timely caution, skip over it in their impatience to follow the course of the narrative, and others be repelled by the finer type in which it is printed. We refer to his admirable biographical sketches, and elaborate criticisms of his principal authorities. These we have found among the most attractive portions of the work. They supply that information, which a reader of any curiosity desires to obtain, respecting the authors whom he finds constantly referred to, and the books which are relied upon as original authorities. Mr. Prescott has evidently prepared them with great care, and, in point of literary merit, they are not inferior to any portion of the text. Some of them, as, for instance, those devoted to Boturini and Sahagun, contain curious

literary anecdotes ; and others, as those upon Las Casas, Solis, and that upon Bernal Diaz, from which we have just quoted, are written with such taste, elegance, and discrimination, as show Mr. Prescott to be as well qualified to excel in literary biography and criticism as in history. He has also appended to his text a copious array of notes, which are devoted to criticism, to citations for corroborating the text, or to explanations of statements made therein, and which never depart from the legitimate province of notes. As the substance of the text is very frequently repeated in the notes, he has, in such cases, deemed it proper to retain them in the original Spanish. In the second part of the Appendix, will be found a variety of curious original documents. The whole work is aptly terminated by a full and correct Index, without which any book dealing in facts is as defective as a pitcher without a handle, or a town-meeting without a moderator.

We deem it unnecessary to make any detailed observations upon the style in which this work is written, since it has essentially the same qualities as those which throw an unvarying charm over the pages of the history of Ferdinand and Isabella. Mr. Prescott is not a mannerist in his style, and does not deal in elaborate, antithetical, nicely balanced periods. His sentences are not cast in the same artificial mould, nor is there a perpetual recurrence of the same turns of expression, as in the writings of Johnson or Gibbon ; nor have they that satin-like smoothness and gloss, for which Robertson is so remarkable. The dignified simplicity of his style is still further removed from any thing like pertness, smartness, or affectation ; from tawdry gum-flowers of rhetoric, and brass-gilt ornaments ; from those fantastic tricks with language, which bear the same relation to good writing that vaulting and tumbling do to walking. It is perspicuous, flexible, and natural ; sometimes betraying a want of high finish, but always manly, always correct, never feeble, and never inflated. He does not darkly insinuate statements, or leave his reader to infer facts. Indeed, it may be said of his style, that it has no marked character at all. Without ever offending the mind or the ear, it has nothing that attracts observation to it, simply as a style. It is a transparent medium, through which we see the form and movement of the writer's mind. In this respect, we may compare it with the manners

of a well-bred gentleman, which have nothing so peculiar as to awaken attention, and which, from their very ease and simplicity, enable the essential qualities of the understanding and character to be more clearly discerned.

We have thus endeavoured to express our sense of the merits of Mr. Prescott's work. The reader, who has accompanied us thus far in our remarks, may be inclined to ask, if we have no alloy of censure to mingle with the fine gold of our praise ; if our commendation is to be not only ample, but unmeasured. We admit, that we have written our notice in a friendly spirit, and that we took up the book with a prepossession in its favor,— with that wish to be pleased, which is as effectual in securing its object as the wish to please. Unquestionably, the book, like every other work of man's device, affords some scope for the indulgence of a spirit of minute and peevish criticism. To all the views and opinions which it contains, we are not inclined to give an unqualified assent. Upon some of them, we do not feel competent to pronounce a judgment. We have sometimes found a simple statement of a fact, where we should have preferred the addition of an indignant comment. Many of the sentences would have fallen with a richer music upon the ear, with some changes in their structure and rhythm. But in looking upon the work as a whole, and from the proper point of view, every thing else is lost and forgotten in the general blaze of its merits. And, if we do not deceive ourselves, such would have been our judgment, had it been put into our hands as a translation from one of the manuscripts of the Mexican gentleman, so often quoted in its pages, with nine consonants in his name, or dropped down from the clouds upon our table. It is a noble work ; judiciously planned, and admirably executed ; rich with the spoils of learning easily and gracefully worn ; imbued everywhere with a conscientious love of the truth, and controlled by that unerring good sense, without which genius leads astray with its false lights, and learning encumbers with its heavy panoply. It will win the literary voluptuary to its pages by the attractiveness of its subject and the flowing ease of its style ; and the historical student will do honor to the extent and variety of the research which it displays, and to the thoroughness with which its investigations have been conducted. We can confidently predict for it an extensive and permanent popularity. It is not destined, after

the gloss of novelty is worn off, to moulder away in booksellers' garrets, or to sleep, undisturbed, upon their highest shelves. It is not made of those destructible materials, which the stream of time bears off with it in its rapid flow. It will take its place among those enduring productions of the human mind, which age cannot stale, and custom cannot wither.

We cannot take a final leave of this work without a word of commendation upon the manner in which it has been brought out by the publishers. The page is sightly and well proportioned, the types are clear and distinct, and the paper is good. It is printed with singular accuracy. For much of its typographical elegance, and for all of its typographical correctness, it is indebted to the taste, skill, and industry of Messrs. Metcalf, Keith, and Nichols, of Cambridge, printers to the University, at whose foundery the stereotype plates were cast, — a fact, which we are the more particular in mentioning, as we perceive that the usual announcement of it is omitted upon the reverse of the title-page. For the accuracy of the typography, they deserve great credit, as the notes swarm with numeral references, with proper names, and with quotations from foreign languages, particularly with obsolete forms of the Spanish ; and every author knows how difficult it is to insure correctness in such cases. The cause of the omission which we have noticed we are at a loss to conjecture. We would respectfully suggest to the Messrs. Harper, whether it would not be more consonant, — we will not say with generosity, — but with that justice which renders to every man his due, to amend this matter in their next edition. We assure them, in an entirely friendly spirit, that the thing does not look well as it now stands.

ART. VII. — 1. *The Attaché ; or Sam Slick in England.* By the Author of "The Clockmaker, or the Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick," &c. New York: William H. Colyer. 1843. 8vo. pp. 76.

2. *Change for the American Notes : in Letters from London to New York.* By an American Lady. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1843. 8vo. pp. 88.

THE author of "The Attaché," understood to be one of the Nova Scotian judges, has acquired considerable reputation by the humorous sketches he has published under the pseudonym of Sam Slick. These sketches have been widely circulated both in England and America, and have been praised more than they deserve. They show a perception of the ludicrous, and sometimes a talent for witty description. Mr. Slick is designed by the author to be a representative of the common New England character. The keen pursuit of gain, the eagerness for driving a bargain, the resort to trickery and even downright fraud, which have been charged upon the Yankee, are drawn out at great length in the character of Mr. Samuel Slick, the pedler. That very apocryphal personage, the Yankee pedler, with his clocks and wooden nutmegs, is the most common object of the jeers and jokes of our Southern brethren, whose mythical and highly imaginative notions of the men of the North it seems quite impossible to correct. These myths have been taken up, apparently in good faith, by the provincial judge, and, with a still more poetical coloring, drawn from the gentleman's own lively fancy, presented in the person of Mr. Slick. No doubt, there is some foundation for these representations ; something approaching a type, by the gross exaggeration of which these distorted and scarcely recognizable images are produced. The New England trader, pedler, or whatever he may be, is, doubtless, sharp at a bargain, and shrewd to turn his opportunities of gain to excellent account ; but not more so than the corresponding classes of men elsewhere. Sam Slick is no proper representative of the Yankees. He is badly conceived ; his character is an incongruous mixture of impossible eccentricities. His sayings are sometimes not destitute of wit ; but his language is a ridiculous compound of provincial solecisms, extravagant figures, vulgarities drawn

from distant sources, which can never meet in an individual, and a still greater variety of vulgar expressions, which are simply and absolutely the coinage of the provincial writer's own brain. On this point we speak with some confidence. We can distinguish the real from the counterfeit Yankee, at the first sound of the voice, and by the turn of a single sentence ; and we have no hesitation in declaring, that Sam Slick is not what he pretends to be ; that there is no organic life in him ; that he is an impostor, an impossibility, a nonentity.

A writer of genius, even if he write from imperfect knowledge, will, as it were, breathe the breath of life into his creations. Sam Slick is an awkward and highly infelicitous attempt to make a character, by heaping together, without discrimination, selection, arrangement, or taste, every vulgarity that a vulgar imagination can conceive, and every knavery that a man blinded by national and political prejudice can charge upon neighbours whom he dislikes. The true New England character has never yet been portrayed, with a mastery of the subject, in a work of fiction. It has capabilities, both of serious and humorous representation, that a poet, or novelist, familiar with it from his birth, and possessing the shaping power of imagination, might work out with the most striking effect. And in the terse peculiarities of the New England idiom, the grave, far-reaching sense of the Massachusetts farmer, the humorous, sly, and quaint expressions in which his thought is uttered, the delineator of manners, had he the discerning eye, might find the rich elements of varied character, almost wholly new to the world of letters. But the attempt will never be successfully made, until some native writer, of genius to create, and culture to represent, characters with the true national stamp, shall set aside foreign models, outlandish turns of expression, and the conventional manners displayed in novels that exhibit a society wholly unlike our own, in order to study the humors and peculiarities of American life. Mr. Cooper has made some bad attempts at American characters ; his creations of this kind are only not quite so unhappy as that of Mr. Slick.

The author of this work is a Tory of the most violent description. A provincial always exaggerates the opinions, manners, and fashions of the parties at home, to whom he would fain assimilate himself. There is something belittling

in his condition, and in the influences to which he is subjected. He has not the lofty consciousness of belonging to a great nation, — of being, among his fellow-subjects, a peer among equals. He has, on the contrary, an uncomfortable sense of inferiority ; he shows an uneasy and restless effort to disguise the character which his birth has stamped ineffaceably upon him, and to assume another, which his allegiance to a distant sovereign prompts him to desire. All his standards of thought, action, manners, and dress are thousands of miles distant. The authorities he must obey are afar off ; the rays of sovereignty fall only in feeble reflection upon him. The things he worships are the fancied grandeurs and glories of another hemisphere. But the great nation has affairs enough of its own to attend to at home. It can take but little note of the colonists, except to send them bad governors, and to mismanage their affairs. Hence springs up an irritating sense of neglect, a petty but not unnatural jealousy, like that felt by persons who, not being quite sure of their social position, torment themselves with imaginary, no less than real, grievances from those above them. The mind, under such circumstances, has no free, natural, and beautiful development. Its growth is stunted and distorted ; it becomes a sickly plant, and can never bear sound and healthy fruit. In politics, men form their party attachments ; but without the moulding and softening influences that work upon them at home, where the great business of administration is carried on, political sentiments are violent and bigoted, and bear the same relation to those of similar appellation in the metropolis, that a travestie bears to the original work it burlesques. Toryism is terribly embittered by distance from the fountain head ; and Radicalism puts on a manifold ferocity in remote and unfrequented wilds. The provincial Tory, who visits the mother country, is like a Tory of three hundred years ago returned to life. He finds, that his prejudices and predilections have no counterpart in the actual state of affairs. His views are shockingly antiquated. A pernicious liberalism has insinuated itself into the principles even of the Tory leaders, whom he had looked up to in distant reverence from his remote provincial home. In short, whatever be his affinities or biases, he finds his guides widely different from what he had fondly dreamed. He is in a condition like that of the village belle, who apes the fashions of some great city, and,

in aping them, overacts the part, adopting all that is absurd and extravagant, and failing to acquire the grace and dignity with which they are worn in the proper circles.

All these remarks apply to the author of "Sam Slick." He must have found himself, while in England, immeasurably behind the age. He seems to have adopted the cast-off dogmas of the Toryism of former centuries; and he was as much misplaced in the England of the nineteenth century, as a contemporary of Rameses the First would have been, had he risen from the mummy-pit, and appeared at the court of the Ptolemies. It seems almost incredible, that a man of ordinary powers of observation and discernment can gravely repeat the antiquated political absurdities, which this writer appears to have treasured in his very soul, as the quintessence of all political wisdom. This is a striking example of what we have hinted at; the belittling effects of the colonial system on the intellects of colonists. A full and complete national existence is requisite to the formation of a manly, intellectual character. What great work of literature or art has the colonial mind ever produced? What free, creative action of genius can take place under the withering sense of inferiority, that a distant dependency of a great empire can never escape from? Any consciousness of nationality, however humble the nation may be, is preferable to the second-hand nationality of a colony of the mightiest empire that ever flourished. The intense national pride, which acts so forcibly in the United States, is something vastly better than the intellectual paralysis that deadens the energies of men in the British American provinces. A character is forming under the republican institutions of the United States, which, though some of its manifestations during the forming period are disagreeable and unpromising, will at least find a free and bold utterance in speech and action; will stamp itself on the literature of the world; will shape itself in the forms of art; will reconstruct the edifice of social life, and play a daring part on the theatre of the age. Its voice is already heard, vindicating to itself a place among the nationalities of the earth. The great minds it has formed are uttering their convictions in words of a fiery eloquence, which almost bring back the triumphs of the Rostrum and the Bema. Is there any thing like this in the British colonies? Can there be any thing like this, while they remain

colonies ? Who ever heard the name of a poet, or a painter, or a sculptor, or a great statesman, a colonist ?

But to return to the work before us. The lovers of light literature have read the former books, which record the sayings and doings of Sam Slick, and some have been entertained by what they mistook for wit and humor. At any rate, their circulation has been such as to tempt the writer to work the vein still further. How far the blame of this proceeding is to be laid to the long ears of a "discerning public," or to the suggestions of a partially successful author's vanity, we shall not undertake to say ; but thus much is quite certain, that the vein, such as it was, gave out long before the author did ; that all the humor, poor as it was, in the conception of Sam Slick's character, was exhausted long before the end of the first week of his official existence as *Attaché* to the American Legation at the court of St. James. In making out the plot of this work, the author was driven to adopt the most improbable absurdities ; not simple extravagancies, which genius may clothe with originality, and exalt into brilliant conceptions, by its kindling power ; but absurdities unredeemed by ingenuity or novelty, plausibility or wit. The supposition, that a person like Major Jack Downing could have been the intimate friend and adviser of the President of the United States, was an extravagance ; yet the originality and truth of the Major's character, the sagacity of his observations, the felicity and idiomatic point of his language, and the argumentative wit of his illustrations, redeemed the improbability of the first conception, and gave a wide and immediate popularity to his letters, almost unexampled in America. The idea of Sam Slick, the *Attaché*, is evidently borrowed from our friend the Major ; but the improbable part was taken, and all the wit was left behind. Sam Slick, the *quondam* pedler, is represented as appointed to a place on the most important foreign mission, with every possible vulgarity of thought, speech, and action in full blossom. He appears in England, is invited about in English society, associates with the statesmen and noblemen of that proud monarchy, and communicates to our author the results of his observations. All this is violently improbable. It is, in the first place, impossible for any such person, even in our abused and long-suffering democracy, to receive an appointment like that ; and, secondly, if we could get over this im-

possibility, it would still be impossible for such an individual to obtain any access to the society which he is described as frequenting. Here, then, we have two stubborn impossibilities to start with. But we might pardon even these, if the character of the *Attaché* had been drawn with any truth and liveliness; if his language had been other than coarse and gross, and false to the spirit of the American idioms. But nothing can equal the falsehood and vulgarity of the book, even after we have got over the outrageous extravagance of the main circumstances of the plot, except its incredible dulness. A writer of genius would certainly have the means, in the rich contrasts between the various phases of English life, and between English life as a whole and American life, to present a series of pictures at once amusing and instructive, even though the framework of the story were absurdity itself; and, in some passages, this author has shown feeble glimpses of a power to appreciate the capabilities of the subject. In some parts of Mr. Slick's description of what it is the author's pleasure to make him call a "juicy day," we see faint intimations of a sense of the humorous bearings of the scene. It is clumsily overwrought, and outrages nature and probability; but some of the points are seized, and tolerably managed. The whole chapter is too long for quotation; we can only pick out, here and there, a "juicy" passage. The following passage contains Mr. Slick's meditations on an English rainy day, and a little incident that befel him on his first morning at an English country-house, which he had been invited to visit.

"A wet day is considerable tiresome, anywhere, or any way you can fix it; but it 's wus at an English country house than anywhere else, cause you are among strangers, formal, cold, gallus polite, and as thick in the head-piece as a puncheon. You hante nothin' to do yourself, and they never have nothin' to do; they don't know nothin' about America, and don't want to. Your talk don't interest them, and they can't talk to interest nobody but themselves; all you 've got to do is to pull out your watch and see how time goes; how much of the day is left, and then go to the winder and see how the sky looks, and whether there is any chance of holdin' up or no. Well, that time I went to bed a little airlier than common, for I felt considerable sleepy, and considerable strange, too; so, as soon as I cleverly could, I off and turned in.

"Well, I am an airly riser myself; I always was from a boy. So I waked up jist about the time when day ought to break, and was a thinkin' to get up; but the shutters was too, and it was as dark as ink in the room, and I heerd it rainin' away for dear life. 'So,' sais I to myself, 'what the dogs is the use of gettin' up so airly? I can't get out and get a smoke, and I can't do nothin' here; so here goes for a second nap.' Well, I was soon off again in a most a beautiful of a snore, when all at once I heard a thump, thump again the shutter, and the most horrid noise I ever heerd since I was raised; it was somethin' quite onairthly.

"'Hallo!' says I to myself, 'what in nature is all this hubbub about? Can this here confounded old house be harnted? Is them spirits that's jabbering gibberish there, or is I wide awake or no?' So I sets right up on my hind legs in bed, rubs my eyes, opens my ears, and listens again, — when whop went every shutter again, with a dead, heavy sound, like somethin' or another thrown again 'em, or fallin' again 'em, and then comes the unknown tongues in discord chorus like. Sais I, 'I know now, it's them cussed navigators. They 've besot the house, and are a givin' lip to frighten folks. It's regular banditti.'

"So I jist hops out of bed, and feels for my trunk, and outs with my talkin' irons, that was already loaded, pokes my way to the window, shoves the sash up, and outs with the shutter, ready to let slip among 'em. And what do you think it was? Hundreds and hundreds of them nasty, dirty, filthy, ugly, black devils of rooks, located in the trees at the back eend of the house. Old Nick couldn't have slept near 'em; caw, caw, caw, all mixed up together in one jumble of a sound, like 'jawe.'

"'You black, evil-lookin', foul-mouthed villains,' sais I, 'I 'd like no better sport than jist to sit here all this blessed day with these pistols, and drop you one arter another, *I* know.' But they all was pets, was them rooks, and of course, like all pets, everlastin' nuisances to everybody else.

"Well, when a man's in a feeze, there 's no more sleep that hitch; so I dresses and sits up. But what was I to do? It was jist half past four, and as it was a rainin' like every thing, I know'd breakfast wouldn't be ready till eleven o'clock, for nobody wouldn't get up, if they could help it, — they wouldn't be such fools; so there was jail for six hours and a half." — p. 11.

Mr. Slick, like other mortals, cannot resist the attractions of English beauty. Hear him a little upon this point.

"Come, I 'll try the women folk in the drawin'-room aign. Ladies don't mind the rain here; they are used to it. It 's like

the musk plant, arter you put it to your nose once, you can't smell it a second time. Oh, what beautiful gals they be! What a shame it is to bar a feller out such a day as this. One on 'em blushes like a red cabbage, when she speaks to me; that 's the one, I reckon, I disturbed this mornin'. Cuss the rooks! I'll pyson them, and that wont make no noise.

"She shows me the consarvitery. 'Take care, sir, your coat has caught this geranium,' and she onhitches it. 'Stop, sir, you 'll break this jillyflower,' and she lifts off the coat-tail again; in fact, it 's so crowded, you can't squeeze along scarcely, without a doin' of mischief somewhere or another.

"Next time she goes first, and then it 's my turn. 'Stop, miss,' sais I, 'your frock has this rose tree over,' and I loosens it; once more, 'Miss, this rose has got tangled,' and I ontangles it from her furbeloes.

"I wonder what makes my hand shake so, and my heart it bumps so, it has bust a button off. If I stay in this consarvitery, I shan't consarve myself long, that 's a fact; for this gal has put her whole team on, and is a runnin' me off the road. 'Hullo! what's that? Bell for dressin' for dinner.' Thank Heavens! I shall escape from myself, and from this beautiful critter, too, for I 'm getting spoony, and shall talk silly presently.

"I don't like to be left alone with a gal, it 's plaguy apt to set me a soft-sawderin' and a courtin'. There 's a sort of natteral attraction like in this world. Two ships in a calm are sure to get up alongside of each other, if there 's no wind, and they have nothin' to do but look at each other; natur does it. Well, even the tongs and the shovel won't stand alone long; they 're sure to get on the same side of the fire, and be sociable; one of 'em has a loadstone and draws t'other, that 's sartain. If that 's the case with hard-hearted things, like oak and iron, what is it with tender-hearted things, like humans? Shut me up in a 'sarvitory with a handsome gal of a rainy day, and see if I don't think she is the sweetest flower in it. Yes, I am glad it is the dinner-bell, for I ain't ready to marry yet, and when I am, I guess I must get a gal where I got my hoss, in Old Connecticut, and that State takes the shine off of all creation for geese, gals, and onions, that 's a fact." — p. 14.

The following story, illustrating the meaning of one of Sam's phrases, "t' other eend of the gun," is not ill told.

"'Well, Squire,' said he, 'I am glad, too, you are agoin' to England along with me: we will take a rise out of John Bull, won't we? We 've hit Blue-nose and Brother Jonathan, both, pretty considerably tarnation hard, and John has split his sides

with larfter. Let 's tickle him now, by feeling his own short ribs, and see how he will like it ; we 'll soon see whose hide is the thickest, his'n or ourn, won't we ? Let 's see whether he will say chee, chee, chee, when he gets to t'other eend of the gun.'

" ' Well, what is the meaning of that saying ? ' I asked. ' I never heard it before.'

" ' Why,' said he, ' when I was considerable of a grown-up saplin' of a boy to Slickville, I used to be a gunnin' for everlastingly a'most in our hickory woods, a shootin' of squirrels with a rifle, and I got amazin' expart at it. I could take the head off of them chatterin'-like imps, when I got a fair shot at 'em with a ball, at any reasonable distance, a'most in nine cases out of ten.

" ' Well, one day I was out as usual, and our Irish help, Paddy Burke, was along with me, and every time he see'd me a drawin' off the head fine on 'em, he would say, " Well, you 've an excellent gun entirely, Master Sam. Oh, by Jakers ! the squirrel has no chance with that gun ; it 's an excellent one entirely."

" ' At last, I got tired of hearin' of him a jawin' so for ever and a day about the excellent gun entirely ; so, sais I, " You fool you, do you think it 's the gun that does it *entirely*, as you say ? ain't there a little dust of skill in it ? Do you think you could fetch one down ? "

" ' " Oh, it 's a capital gun entirely," said he.

" ' " Well," said I, " if 't is, try it now, and see what sort of a fist you 'll make of it."

" ' So Paddy takes the rifle, lookin' as knowin' all the time as if he had ever see'd one afore. Well, there was a great red squirrel on the tip-top of a limb, chatterin' away like any thing, chee, chee, chee, proper frightened ; he know'd it warn't me that was a parsecutin' of him, and he expected he 'd be hurt. They know'd me, did the little critters, when they see'd me, and they know'd I never had hurt one on 'em, — my balls never givin' 'em a chance to feel what was the matter of them ; but Pat they didn't know, and they see'd he warn't the man to handle " Old Bull-dog." I used to call my rifle Bull-dog, cause she always bit afore she barked.

" ' Pat threw one foot out astarn, like a skullin' oar, and then bent forrads like a hoop, and fetched the rifle slowly up to the line and shot to the right eye. Chee, chee, chee, went the squirrel. He see'd it was wrong. " By the powers ! " sais Pat, " this is a left-handed boot," and he brought the gun to the other shoulder, and then shot to his left eye. " Fegs ! " sais Pat, " this gun was made for a squint eye, for I can't get a right straight sight of the critter, either side." So I fixt it for him, and

told him which eye to sight by. "An excellent gun entirely," sais Pat, "but it tante made like the rifles we have."

"'Ain't they strange critters, them Irish, Squire? That fellow never handled a rifle afore in all his born days; but, unless it was to a priest, he wouldn't confess that much for the world. They are as bad as the English that way; they always pretend they know every thing.

"'"Come, Pat," sais I, "blaze away now." Back goes the hind leg again, up bends the back, and Bull-dog rises slowly to his shoulder, and then he stared and stared, until his arm shook like palsy. Chee, chee, chee, went the squirrel again, louder than ever, as much as to say, "Why the plague don't you fire? I 'm not a goin' to stand here all day for you this way," and then, throwin' his tail over his back, he jumped on to the next branch.

"'"By the piper that played before Moses!" sais Pat, "I 'll stop your chee, chee, cheein' for you, you chatterin' spalpeen of a devil, you." So he ups with the rifle again, takes a fair aim at him, shuts both eyes, turns his head round, and fires; and "Bull-dog," findin' he didn't know how to hold her tight to the shoulder, got mad, and kicked him head over heels on the broad of his back. Pat got up, a makin' awful wry faces, and began to limp, to show how lame his shoulder was, and to rub his arm, to see if he had one left, and the squirrel ran about the tree hoppin' mad, hollerin' out as loud as it could scream, chee, chee, chee.

"'"Oh, bad luck to you!" says Pat, "if you had a been at t'other eend of the gun," and he rubbed his shoulder agin, and cried like a baby, "you wouldn't have said chee, chee, chee, that way, I know."

"'Now, when your gun, Squire, was a knockin' over Bluenose, and making a proper fool of him, and a knockin' over Jonathan, and a spilin' of his bran-new clothes, the English sung out chee, chee, chee, till all was blue agin. You had an excellent gun entirely then; let 's see if they will sing out chee, chee, chee, now, when we take a shot at *them*. Do you take?' and he laid his thumb on his nose, as if perfectly satisfied with the application of his story. 'Do you take, Squire? you have an excellent gun entirely, as Pat says. It 's what I call putting the leake into 'em properly. If you had a written this book fust, the English would have said your gun was no good; it would'nt have been like the rifles they had seen. Lord, I could tell you stories about the English, that would make even them cryin' devils, the Mississippi crocodiles, laugh, if they was to hear 'em.'" — p. 18.

Mr. Slick, like Mr. Sam Weller, is very fond of these il-

lustrative stories ; in this respect, he doubtless imitates his illustrious predecessor. But we cannot often award him the praise of a successful imitation. His stories are too long, and very often dull. In the eighth chapter, for example, the attempt at an amusing sketch of Mr. Rufus Dodge's visit to Niagara Falls is too strained to excite any other feeling than a sense of weariness, and a sincere regret, that the author should have cudgelled his brains so hard to so little purpose. The absurdity of the whole representation is so great, that we can only say, "*Incredulus odi*," to every word of it. As to being entertained by such a tasteless and awkward effort to be funny, the coarsest and broadest laugher would read it without the slightest peril to his gravity.

One of the prominent characters in the work is Mr. Hopewell, an aged clergyman of the American Episcopal Church. The author has evidently an affection for this prosy old gentleman, his politics, and his general views of men and things. His lectures to Sam on manners and conversation, on the propriety of using and the impropriety of omitting titles, and his Latin and Greek quotations to that erudite functionary, are truly edifying ; and it is surprising, that Sam, having for many years enjoyed the valuable instructions of the reverend gentleman, should have derived so little benefit from them. In truth, the conception of this character is feeble, and we soon weary of it. Mr. Hopewell's doings and sayings, both on board ship, and after his arrival in England, are not those which a man of ordinary sense would do and say, there or anywhere else. We recognize in the delineation the same infirmity of hand, the same inability to draw and sustain a consistent character, — a character that shall act like a human being, with the motives, feelings, and senses of a human being,— which we have noted in the other personages of the story. The scene in the cottage, described in the eleventh chapter, is quite mawkish and silly ; and nearly as much so is the twelfth chapter, entitled, "Stealing the Hearts of the People," wherein the clergyman is represented as preaching in an English church against all the reforms of the times, and portraying the blessings enjoyed by the poor in that happy country, especially the blessings derived from an Established Church, with such irresistible force and energy, that he convinced William Hodgins, a sturdy radical, of the sin of the Chartist agitation, saved him

from ruin, and made his wife a happy woman. It requires but the simplest statement, to show the extravagant absurdity of this representation. It needed the exaggerated loyalty, the high wrought Toryism of a provincial, to venture to make it, in the face of the existing evils in the condition of the English poor, the oppressiveness of the English Established Church, and its utter inadequacy to the religious or secular instruction of the body of the people. No Englishman of any party would have risked his character for sanity, by gravely putting forth such unreal mockeries, in this nineteenth century. We take a few paragraphs from one of Mr. Hopewell's numerous discourses, and then leave him, with the single remark, that we do not believe there lives an American clergyman of the Episcopal Church, so disloyal to his country, so insensible to the glory of her great historical names, so stupidly blind to all that is noble in her institutions, and all that she is doing to better the condition of man, as to speak of the American Revolution, and of the men who effected it, as the present author, making Mr. Hopewell his mouthpiece, has the insolence and folly to write, in the extract which follows.

"'And besides, my good friend, I have much to say to you relative to the present condition and future prospects of this great country. I have lived to see a few ambitious lawyers, restless demagogues, and political preachers, and unemployed local officers of provincial regiments, agitate and sever thirteen colonies at one time from the government of England. I have witnessed the struggle. It was a fearful, a bloody, and an unnatural one. My opinions, therefore, are strong, in proportion as my experience is great. I have abstained, on account of their appearing like preconceptions, from saying much to you yet, for I want to see more of this country, and to be certain that I am quite right before I speak.

"'When you return, I will give you my views on some of the great questions of the day. Do n't adopt them; hear them, and compare them with your own. I would have you think for yourself, for I am an old man now, and sometimes I distrust my powers of mind.

"'The state of this country, you, in your situation, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with. It is a very perilous one. Its prosperity, its integrity, nay, its existence as a first-rate power, hangs by a thread, and that thread but little better and stronger than a cotton one. *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

I look in vain for that constitutional vigor and intellectual power which once ruled the destinies of this great nation.

"'There is an aberration of intellect, and a want of self-possession, here, that alarms me. I say, alarms me; for American as I am by birth, and republican as I am from the force of circumstances, I cannot but regard England with great interest, and with great affection. What a beautiful country! What a noble constitution! What a high-minded, intelligent, and generous people! When the Whigs came into office, the Tories were not a party, they were the people of England. Where and what are they now? Will they ever have a lucid interval, or again recognize the sound of their name? And yet, Sam, doubtful as the prospect of their recovery is, and fearful as the consequences of a continuance of their malady appear to be, one thing is most certain, *a Tory government is the proper government for a monarchy, a suitable one for any country, but it is the only one for England.* I do not mean an ultra one, for I am a moderate man, and all extremes are equally to be avoided; I mean a temperate, but firm one; steady to its friends, just to its enemies, and inflexible to all. When compelled to yield, it should be by the force of reason, and never by the power of agitation. Its measures should be actuated by a sense of what is right, and not what is expedient; for to concede is to recede, — to recede is to evince weakness, — and to betray weakness is to invite attack.'" — p. 75.

We have a word to say upon one more topic connected with this book, and then we shall have done. The reader will remember, that, in a previous work, this writer attempted to ridicule Mr. Everett, who was then Governor of Massachusetts, by describing an imaginary interview with him, and his conversation at some small inn. Like many things in the present work, the description was so overdone, the sentiments and language attributed to Mr. Everett were so unlike reality, that the sketch had not even the poor merit of being amusing. We were struck with surprise, at the time, that a person, whose education and position seemed to give the world assurance of a gentleman, could have descended to this paltry kind of malice; but it passed away with the thousand fooleries of the press, and was speedily forgotten. We should never have recalled that unworthy attempt to lower the character of one whose genius, learning, eloquence, and virtue are the pride of a great country, but that, in the present work, the attempt is more elaborately

repeated, and in a tone more offensive and ungentlemanly than before. The allusions to the theological profession, which Mr. Everett belonged to and adorned in his youth, and the ridiculous nickname, "Abednego Layman," referring to his change of profession, with various other coarse and malicious hints and innuendoes, make it impossible to doubt, that the intended satire is aimed at the American minister to England; though the grossness of the attack is thinly disguised by setting up a man of straw in the shape of a pretended special minister, and, in another place, by speaking of Mr. Everett by name, in connexion with the imaginary ambassador. We had intended to place this passage before our readers, in order to show them the manner in which this provincial judge deems it decent to write about the United States, and their able minister at the court of St. James; but on a second perusal, we found the satire too contemptible and pointless to deserve quotation.

Passing over the fact, that must stare every reader in the face, that the vulgar buffoonery of the dialogue is unredeemed by a particle of humor or wit, we ask, What sense of justice can exist in the writer, who attempts to bring discredit on any American gentleman, because, in the mutations of life which naturally grow out of the peculiarities of American society, he has seen fit to change his occupation; to leave the clerical profession, and enter upon the more extended theatre of political affairs? In England such a change we suppose is impossible. There, once a clergyman, always a clergyman. But here, where no established church exists, where perfect freedom in matters of religion, as in other matters, is the birthright of every citizen, where the connexion between the clergyman and his society is wholly voluntary, both as to its original formation and its continuance, where men are often driven by necessity to desert the career for which they were educated, and where all careers are open to all, with as few restraints as are compatible with order and the public interests, how unfair to judge of a man's course in this respect by analogies drawn from the artificial and unnatural state of England! The English system must alone have right and reason on its side, or these attempted sneers at the American minister are pointless; and that the English system does enjoy this great preëminence, we suspect it would require even a blinder devotion to prescription and usage, than this writer's, to affirm.

What shall we say, too, of the honesty of a writer, who does not scruple to speak of American "bad faith in the business of the Boundary question," when he must have known, from documents published to the world when that sentence was penned, from the declarations of the British Ministry to both Houses of Parliament, and from the well-drawn conclusions of the intelligent men of all parties, that the course of the American negotiator was guided by the strictest integrity, as well as by the most enlightened desire to avert the horrors of war between two great kindred nations? An allusion in this spirit to that illustrious man, to whom the world is mainly indebted for the inestimable blessings of the Treaty of Washington, is much worse than unbecoming. Its true nature we shall not attempt to characterize; but the only effect it can have will be to stamp the author as an unjust, prejudiced, and narrow-minded man.

We have taken the trouble to point out some of the defects of this author's works, not because they deserve, for any intrinsic merit, a moment's attention, but because they are pretty widely read in both countries, and are used for the ungenerous purpose of exciting ill-will between them. The other book, whose title is placed at the head of the present article, stands nearly on the same low level as to truth and honesty of purpose. On its very title-page, the author, in effect, abandons all claim to the character of a truth-telling witness. The express object of the work is to retort on England the treatment which America is imagined to have received from Mr. Dickens. Of course, a purpose so one-sided and polemical, and so openly declared, is a warning to the reader not to take the statements of the book in absolute faith. So far, there is a sort of honesty in the proceeding, which is commendable, because the reader, thus forewarned, is not easily deceived. But what sense of literary duty could the writer have had, in adopting a plan which would make partial statements, discolored and perverted facts, rash generalizations of individual instances, hasty conclusions drawn from narrow or ill-understood premises, quite necessary ingredients in the work? It purports to consist of familiar letters, written by an American lady, who had occasion to reside some time in England. Whether this be fact or fiction, we are unable to say. We have heard it asserted, that this American Lady is wholly an imaginary personage;

and it were better if she were. These letters are not destitute of sprightliness and point; but they are written, for the most part, in an incorrect, careless, slip-shod style, which throws much doubt upon the author's pretensions to the character of a lady. They are loose, rambling, and incoherent; full of gossiping episodes and trivial remarks. Common things, the little incidents of daily life, careless expressions in conversation, the forms and modes of applying charities to the relief of the poor, are studiously made to take an unfavorable construction, on which monstrous generalizations are built, which the author would have us accept as traits of character in the British nation. We reject it all, as in bad taste, bad temper, bad reasoning, and bad writing. The American name needs no such defences or defenders. It is no help to our character, to prove our neighbour worse than ourselves; it is an injury to our character to attempt to disparage our neighbour, and fail in the attempt; for that is calumny.

The wonderful reasoning powers of this author are fairly represented in the following paragraph.

"We saw Prince Albert set forth on horseback. I consider him eminently handsome, and every one speaks of his amiability. A gentleman near us pronounced him the most fortunate youth in existence. 'Yes,' added a minor-theatre-looking personage, 'and he is now, thanks to us, richer than all his tribe.' In England, the first of virtues is wealth. The Americans may struggle as much or more to attain it, but its mere possession is less worshipped with us than in Great Britain." — p. 10.

That is to say, because a "minor-theatre-looking personage" was overheard to remark, that Prince Albert "is now, thanks to us, richer than all his tribe," *therefore*, "in England, the first of virtues is wealth," and "the Americans may struggle as much or more to attain it, but its mere possession is less worshipped with us than in Great Britain." How imperfectly must this letter-writer have remembered the tone of conversation, not among the "minor-theatre" people, but in the most luxurious and refined circles of the commercial cities in the United States, to venture upon a remark like this, — to draw a sweeping conclusion as to national character from the casual exclamation of a fellow in the street! We wish to treat this book with fairness, and

having stated our objections to it, we commend portions of it to our readers, as evincing a talent for lively and humorous description, and a command of an idiomatic and pleasing epistolary style.

Art. VIII. — *A Catalogue of the Library of Brown University, in Providence, Rhode Island. With an Index of Subjects.* Providence. 1843. 8vo. pp. 560.

We welcome the indications, which are now crowding upon us from every quarter, that the people of this country are beginning to feel the importance of taking active measures for the establishment and increase of great public libraries. Large collections of books, open for common use, are at once the storehouses and the manufactories of learning and science ; they bring together the accumulated fruits of the experience, the research, and the genius of other ages and distant nations, as well as of our own time and land ; and they create the taste and furnish the indispensable aids for the prosecution of literary and scientific effort in every department. In great cities, they qualify the exclusive spirit of commercial and professional avocations, and encourage men to steal an hour from the pursuit of gain and devote it to the attempt to satisfy a rational curiosity and to cultivate an elegant taste. Connected with literary and academical institutions, they supply the means and multiply the objects of study, and keep alive that enthusiasm in the cause of letters, without which nothing great or permanent can ever be accomplished. They are necessarily of slow growth, but every year adds to their value and efficiency, and diffuses more widely a sense of the benefits to be derived from them, and a knowledge of the mode of using them to the best advantage.

The cost of books has been much diminished of late years, and the facilities for making large collections of them much increased. The recent improvements in the arts of printing and paper-making, and the great increase in the number of readers and purchasers, enabling the trade to count upon extensive sales, cause new works to be offered

at very low prices ; while the frequent dispersion of private libraries, after the death of the person whose taste and liberality collected them, and, in the Old World, the multiplication of book-fairs and reprints, and the formation of large repositories of old books on sale, place nearly all the old and standard publications within the reach of very moderate means. The judicious use of a few thousand dollars will now furnish the nucleus of a very respectable collection of books.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that public libraries have multiplied, of late, in the United States with considerable rapidity. They are yet small ; they do not admit of comparison with the vast accumulations in the great capitals and universities of Europe. But they show, that the public are aware of the importance of such institutions, and that the course of private munificence is already, to some extent, turned in this direction ; and they form centres for slow but continued accretions, with a law of progress as sure as that which changes the sapling into an oak. Philadelphia owes to the public spirit and foresight of Dr. Franklin the establishment of a library, which has long been one of the largest in the country, and now contains nearly 50,000 volumes. But its increase has been slow of late years, and we believe there is but small provision made for its regular and continued enlargement. New York has two societies, of quite recent origin, each having a library of more than thirty thousand volumes, and both being in the way of rapid increase. And when the munificent plan which was formed some years since by her wealthiest citizen shall be carried into effect, she will be able to boast of a collection that may well be compared with the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and which, like that noble institution, will immortalize the name of its founder. In Boston, the libraries of the Athenæum and the American Academy are as much distinguished for the choice selection as for the number of the books, and they have the means of regular, if not of rapid growth.

The numerous colleges in this country have their several libraries, of which, considering the urgent necessity, nay, the absolute indispensableness, of large collections of books, for carrying out the proper designs of such institutions, we can only say, that the largest is nothing more than respectable, while by far the greater number of them hardly deserve

the name. The great obstacle to their increase is the absurd multiplication of academical institutions in this country, by which the stream of public and private munificence, that might be collected into one broad and deep channel, is divided into a thousand petty rills, and lost. We have one hundred and seventy-three colleges, when twenty would better answer the purpose, and ten would not be too few; and there is no cause for wonder, therefore, that the largest college library hardly contains the sixth part of the intellectual wealth which it should possess, in order that the pupils, the instructers, and the *alumni* might do their work to the best advantage.

Our own Harvard has much the largest and best collection of books belonging to any college in the country, and, especially in the department of American history, its stores are unequalled and invaluable. The library already contains about 50,000 volumes, and is on the point of receiving a large increase. The noble bequest of Mr. Gore, and the untiring liberality of the merchants of Boston and the vicinity, have recently placed in the hands of the Corporation a princely sum for the improvement of this library, the right arm of the institution to which it belongs. But it must ever be a cause of regret with the friends of the college, that, of the large sum thus obtained, more than $73,000 were devoted to the erection of a building, and only about $21,000 to the purchase of books. If the money had been equally divided between the two purposes, it might have been said, that the interests of science and letters, and the increase of the reputation, influence, and active usefulness of the college by doubling the number of volumes on its shelves, were considered as objects of at least equal importance with the construction even of the best specimen of American Gothic architecture. The three essential points to be considered in the erection of an edifice for a public library, whether attached to a college or not, are convenience, security, and ample room for the books. When these ends are obtained, to expend a single dollar for the mere purpose of ornament is to rob the immortal mind for the sake of pampering the senses, — to gratify an ostentatious spirit at the expense of the higher interests of humanity. And when the want of large collections of books is as pressing as it now is in this country, such an application of the funds designed to supply

this want appears almost like a mockery. It is like putting a fine coat on the back of a starving man, instead of giving him a dinner.

Yale College has a library about one third smaller than that of Harvard, and is now constructing an edifice for it, at the estimated cost of only $30,000, which will contain all the books at present belonging to it, and leave space for a large increase in future years. The library of Brown University is comparatively small; but a wise discrimination has been shown in the use of the means provided for its enlargement. In 1831, measures were taken to raise by subscription the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, to be applied to "the purchase of books for the library, and apparatus for the philosophical and chemical departments." The whole amount was to be invested as a permanent fund, and the interest was to be devoted exclusively to the objects above mentioned. More than $19,000 were obtained by this effort, of which Mr. Nicholas Brown, of Providence, the constant and munificent friend of the college, subscribed $10,000. The sum thus obtained was placed at interest till it had increased to twenty-five thousand dollars, and was then invested as a permanent fund. The first dividend from it, applicable to the purchase of books and apparatus, became due in 1839, since which time the proceeds have been regularly appropriated according to the provisions of the subscription. The room formerly devoted to the use of the library being too small, as well as unsightly and inconvenient, Mr. Brown erected a building, at his own expense, the second story of which is used as the college chapel, while the ground floor is appropriated for the books, and will contain thirty thousand volumes. The cost of this edifice was a little less than $30,000, and if the whole building were devoted to the use of the library, it would contain at least eighty thousand volumes.

A catalogue of the books in this library, by Mr. Charles C. Jewett, the librarian, is now before us, and deserves notice, as one of the most skilfully prepared and beautifully executed works of its class. The arrangement is such, that one can easily find a particular work of which he is in search, and can ascertain at a glance what books are contained in the collection relating to a given subject, or belonging to the particular department of science or letters, in regard to which

he is looking for information and assistance. The volume consists of two parts, the first being a descriptive catalogue, in which the titles are given at length, and arranged alphabetically, according to the names of the authors, or, when these are unknown, according to the principal word in the title; the second is an alphabetical index of subjects, the works being grouped together according to the natural relations of the matters of which they treat. The plan is, in most respects, like that of the Signet Library Catalogue, of Edinburgh, which was copied, with some improvements, by Mr. O. A. Taylor, when he prepared a catalogue of the library of the Theological Seminary at Andover. It has all the advantages of the more elaborate and apparently more scientific scheme of a systematic index, and it avoids some of the many difficulties, by which a full and regular execution of this scheme, consistent in all its parts, must always be impeded. To say nothing of the fact, that it requires a complete solution of that most comprehensive and difficult problem, on which the genius of Bacon and D'Alembert labored in vain, — a scientific classification of all the branches of human knowledge, — there are minor impediments to the successful performance of the work, and many little inconveniences in the use of it, when completed, which become serious in the aggregate, especially when the catalogue is of great extent. Many works of a miscellaneous character, like awkward soldiers on drill, cannot find their proper place in the ranks. It is even doubtful, at times, whether they belong to the infantry, the dragoons, or the artillery, for they seem to wear a portion of the accoutrements of all three. A due regard to method, also, sometimes requires the classification to be carried so far, that a person consulting the work is often rather perplexed than aided by the number of divisions and subdivisions, of orders, *genera*, and species, under which the books are arranged. Every good distribution into classes depends on some one leading idea, guided by their relation to which the different subjects follow in appropriate groups. But the leading idea in the mind of the inquirer may not be the one in regard to which the catalogue is arranged. The system in the index depends on a general scheme of human knowledge, and, therefore, strictly speaking, is directly adapted to the wants only of the general student, who is equally interested in all branches of inquiry.

But a theologian would prefer an arrangement based on the particular relations of man to the Deity. The student of natural history would adopt one depending on the scientific relations of all external objects to each other. And both theology and natural history having a connexion, more or less remote, with every other department of knowledge, it is obvious, that the student of each may have occasion to consult works in every department of the catalogue, and will experience some difficulty in doing this, if the leading idea in his science is not made the basis of the index.

We think, therefore, that Mr. Jewett has done wisely in adopting the alphabetical arrangement both for the descriptive catalogue and the index of subjects. It is true, that the order of the alphabet does not seem a very scientific one; but in this instance, as in many others, it happens, that the system which has the least appearance of science is the most convenient for use. We do not say, that the plan would have been equally satisfactory, if the collection of books had been a very numerous one. The library of Brown University contains but little more than ten thousand volumes, and might be consulted with ease and convenience by the aid of a catalogue compiled with less care and method than are shown in the present work. The author of it certainly did not suffer from "the embarrassment of riches." When, as in the great libraries of Europe, through far-reaching halls and almost countless alcoves, the shelves bend beneath the weight of the accumulated wisdom of other ages and foreign nations, the inquirer, who is suddenly introduced into the labyrinthic treasure-house of learning, needs a skilful guide, or he will feel as perplexed and helpless as if he were travelling alone, and without a compass, through one of our interminable Western forests. But few of the public libraries in the United States, it must be confessed, present any difficulties of this sort; the student can find his way through them as easily as through a clump of trees in a pasture.

Mr. Jewett has been able to add one feature to this catalogue, which is not usually found in books of the same class, and which, indeed, cannot be given when they relate to libraries of great extent, without swelling the work to very inconvenient dimensions. He has given short biographical notices of authors, when it became necessary to distinguish between two of the same name; and has appended such

notices to most of the titles of the ancient classics, and of many American productions. He has also occasionally added bibliographical notes, which evince much care, research, and discretion. On the whole, he has produced a valuable book, and we only regret, that his eminent qualifications for the task were not tested by the preparation of one of much greater extent.

We learn from the Preface to this volume, that the library is the fruit, almost entirely, of the liberality of private individuals. The appropriations from the general funds of the college have necessarily been few and scanty ; and though similar institutions in the other States have usually been fed at least by a slender rill of legislative patronage, the only college library in Rhode Island has not received a drop from this source. We cannot but hope, now that the internal troubles of that State are quieted, and her finances are in excellent condition, that she will think generously of the claims of an institution which has done so much for the advancement of education, and for the dissemination of sound principles throughout her boundaries. Liberality in such a cause is discreet and far-sighted economy.

A collection of books made up almost exclusively from private benefactions, accumulating during a long period of years, cannot be so valuable as one of even quite inferior size, obtained by the direct expenditure of a considerable sum at one time, with a due regard to the selection of the works which are most needed. Individuals give a number of volumes to a college, or bequeath their whole collection to it, and in this way it may obtain a few rare and valuable works. But very many of the books thus obtained, having been originally brought together by chance or private caprice, merely cumber the shelves of a public institution with useless matter. A library thus formed is very heterogeneous in its character, and unequal in the various departments of science and letters. Thus, in the catalogue now before us, we find the names of quite a number of Welsh books, and of works relating to the Welsh language and literature, while there is hardly a title belonging to the modern literature of France and Germany. The library contains a collection of Welsh poems by one Ap Robert, which are, doubtless, very beautiful, though unfortunately we never heard of them before ; and though Brown University has a *corps* of very

learned professors, we are sadly afraid that not one of them is able to read a line of the "Dau Gywydd." On the other hand, it does not possess a single work, in the original, either of Corneille or Racine, of Goethe or Schiller. It may have a few rare books, which would be considered valuable by a bibliomaniac, or in one of the great European repositories; but the factitious value of these only mocks the poverty of the other departments of the collection. In this respect, the library is in the same state as the horse of the spendthrift, who, having exhausted his credit with the grain merchant, but not with the pastry cook, ordered the animal to be fed on cheesecakes and custards.

Such considerations as these show the futility of the excuse commonly offered by legislators for their ill-timed parsimony towards the higher seminaries of learning. They say, that the library already contains more books than any one man can read; as if it were any consolation for an inquirer who is in great need of a particular work to be offered another, however rare or valuable, which he does not want. Let the legislature of Rhode Island think of these things, and then strive to imitate the noble liberality of her private citizens towards an institution which has already done, and is doing, so much for the honor of the State.

With a commendable feeling of gratitude for the exertions of these early friends of the college, Mr. Jewett has inserted, in the Preface to his work, such information as he could obtain respecting their lives, characters, and the amount of their gifts. The list is not a long one, and the particulars are scanty; but it is well that they are preserved, for they illustrate the manner in which colleges have been generally formed and their libraries collected in this country. Most of the information was derived from the records of the college, and from the recollections of a few aged persons, who were the friends of the institution in its early days.

Brown University was incorporated in 1764, and bore the name of the "Rhode Island College" till 1804, when its present appellation was given to it, in honor of its most distinguished benefactor, Mr. Nicholas Brown. This gentleman, an eminent and successful merchant in Providence, R. I., began his benefactions to the institution in 1792, by presenting to it a law library of three hundred and fifty volumes, which he had imported for the purpose. In 1804,

he contributed $ 5,000 towards the foundation of a professorship of oratory and *belles lettres ;* and in 1815, he gave $ 500 for the purchase of books. In 1823, he erected at his own expense the second college building, commonly known as "Hope College." At the same time, he requested the Faculty to order, at the joint expense of himself and his brother-in-law, Mr. T. P. Ives, such a suit of apparatus, in all the departments of experimental science, as the wants of the university seemed to require. In 1831, as we have already mentioned, he contributed $ 10,000 towards the fund for the purchase of books, and built at his own expense a handsome edifice for a library and chapel, which was called "Manning Hall." In 1839, he tendered to the Corporation, for the purpose of erecting a house for the President, and another edifice for the accommodation of the departments of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Natural History, three valuable lots of land as sites for these buildings, and ten thousand dollars. He died in September, 1841, in the seventy-third year of his age, having made to the college several bequests of land and other property. Seldom has an individual more richly earned the honor of having his name preserved and cherished in all coming time, as a benefactor to the cause of education and letters in this country.

The first appropriation for the library from the general funds of the college was made in 1768, when Mr. Edwards, the agent of the institution, then in England, was authorized to expend twenty pounds for this purpose ; and he probably received many donations in books. An attempt was made, about the year 1783, to increase the collection, and a considerable sum was subscribed, of which Mr. John Brown, the uncle of Mr. Nicholas Brown, contributed one half. The Bristol Education Society in England, in 1784, made a valuable donation, containing the works of several of the Fathers of the Church ; and, in the same year, the sum of £ 350 was appropriated by the Corporation for the purchase of books. The next considerable gift was made by the Rev. Isaac Backus, of Massachusetts, the author of a "Church History of New England," who died in 1806, and bequeathed to the college a part of his library. Among the books thus received was a copy of Roger Williams's "Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody," published in London, in 1652. On a blank leaf, it contains these words,

in the hand-writing of Roger Williams: "For his honored and beloved Mr. John Clarke, an eminent Witnes of Christ Jesus ag'st ye bloodie doctrine of persecution, etc." The Rev. William Richards, of Lynn, England, author of a history of that town, and of a Welsh and English dictionary, died in 1818, and bequeathed to the college his whole library, containing about thirteen hundred volumes. Among them was a considerable number of Welsh books, in regard to which we can only say, that it had been well, if the donor could have bequeathed to the college along with them a knowledge of the language in which they were written. By the exertions of the gentleman who was librarian to the institution in 1825, the friends of the college were induced to subscribe $840, which sum was expended in buying books. More recent donations, though considerable in amount, we have not room here to notice.

Of the general character of the library Mr. Jewett remarks, that "it is, as might be supposed from the manner in which it has been collected, very miscellaneous. Obvious deficiencies in nearly every department remain to be supplied. But there will be found upon the shelves some books extremely rare, even in Europe, while the great proportion of them are valuable. Perhaps no library of its size in the country contains so good a collection of books pertaining to the history and literature of the English Dissenters."

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Course of Lectures on the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the United States, delivered annually in Columbia College, N. Y.* By William Alexander Duer, LL. D., late President of that Institution. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1843. 18mo. pp. 407.

The want of a good elementary work on the character and nature of our governmernt has been long felt in our seminaries of learning, and the effects of this deficiency have been too fatally visited upon the country by the untaught statesmen, to whose guidance it has committed its most important interests.

Indeed, it is singular, that no successful efforts have yet been made to supply so urgent a want. In religion, morals, and the sciences, — in short, in all that is required to enable our youth to perform their duties towards God, their neighbours, and themselves, there is no deficiency of teachers, or of elementary works. The divine, the physician, and the lawyer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant, all have their schools and their books; but the elector and the representative, in one of which characters all men in this country must appear, and the other may often be forced upon them, are deemed unworthy of attention, and people are left to acquire the knowledge necessary for the right performance of these high public duties, either from the promptings of inspiration, or from heated and often ignorant partisans, intrusted with a public press, and only fitted to illustrate the Scriptural proverb of "the blind leading the blind." This striking deficiency in our systems of education is to be attributed to a too faithful adherence to the modes of education prevalent in the Old World. There is, however, so manifest a difference in the structure of society, and in the duties which its members are compelled to perform, in Europe, and in the United States, that it seems very remarkable, in the establishment of our schools and colleges, that no provision was made for teaching American children the character of those political institutions which were so soon to be intrusted to their control.

In the Old World, no such provision was required. Government is there deemed too high a concern for the subject. The very term by which he is characterized indicates, that his duty is merely to obey. The mass of the community is not entitled to interfere with the government; and, in most countries, not even to criticise its administration. Even in England, at a period not very remote, instances were not unfrequent of persons being capitally punished for commenting too freely upon the course of the government. In 1663, John Twyn was executed for a political libel; and in 1693, William Anderson met with the same fate. On the continent, still less license was allowed, the liberty of speech upon political topics having been entirely taken away. At the present time, it is true, greater freedom is permitted; but it is also true, that the system of education from which our own is derived was formed during the period when all political discussion was regarded as dangerous to the tranquillity and well-being of society. The professorships, the modes of teaching, and the objects of study were all established under such influences, and took their character, in a great degree, from the governments that founded the seminaries of learning.

There is not, therefore, much cause for wonder, that no pro-

vision was made in Europe for teaching men their political duties, and that, in establishing, or rather in continuing, the ancient system of education in this country, no adequate provision was made for qualifying Americans to perform the new duties imposed upon them by their political institutions. When there was so much to be done in relation to immediate difficulties, it is not surprising, that those which were only to affect future generations were temporarily overlooked. To this cause may fairly be attributed the want of adequate provision for the political education of the people of this country.

We do not here speak of that superficial knowledge, which most of our citizens have, of the constitution and history of their native land. Superficial as this is, it is so much greater and more accurate than what the mass of the community in other countries possess, that we are apt to deceive ourselves, and to believe that we are well informed on all political topics. Most *native* American citizens have some knowledge of the respective parties which divide the country, and of the questions at issue between them ; but in well grounded and accurate information respecting the character of their political institutions, and the extent and limits of the various departments among which the powers of the government are divided, they are greatly deficient. They have not the knowledge of details, both of the provisions and principles of the Constitution, and of the interests of the community, which should be found in those who are required to judge of the conduct of persons intrusted with power, and upon whose decision the public policy and the administration of the government entirely depend. To their judgment all disputed questions are referred; to their deliberate decision all other powers in the state must bow. How necessary, then, is it, that the mass of the people here should have an intimate acquaintance with their political institutions and public interests, which would be deemed needless and even burdensome elsewhere ! A deficiency in this respect would expose them to errors and misfortunes, which many years might not suffice to correct and repair. To illustrate this position by a reference to our own short history would be trespassing upon the forbidden field of party politics ; but it would be needlessly debarring ourselves from apposite allusions, not to notice the fact, that, in those States of the Union where political intelligence has been generally diffused, a policy consistent with the true interests of the people and with the character of free institutions has been pursued ; while in those States where education is limited to the few, or where there has been a great influx of foreigners, the policy has been more fluctuating, and less regard has been paid to those sound principles

of ethics and law, upon which the stability of all governments must depend.

No greater service, then, can be rendered to the country, no task more honorable, or attended with more lasting results to future generations, can be performed, than to make the rising generation well acquainted with the character of the government and the interests which it was instituted to promote, and in a fitting manner to supply the deficiency, to which we have alluded, in the prevailing system of education. This has been attempted by the worthy descendant, on the paternal side, of one of the active leaders in the civil councils of the Revolution,* and, on the maternal side, of one of the associates of Washington,† who contributed by military skill and valor to carry out in the field the resolutions of the patriotic statesmen who formed the Continental Congress. President Duer was peculiarly well qualified for the performance of this task. Educated to the legal profession, and for several years a circuit judge in the State of New York, he had obtained a practical acquaintance with the Federal and State Constitutions, and their mutual relations. Called from the bench to preside over Columbia College, he at once perceived the defect in the system of education, pursued there as well as in the other seminaries of learning, and in these Lectures he undertook to supply that defect.

The first six lectures are devoted to an examination of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the distribution of the powers of the government among the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and the organization of the latter department under the Federal Constitution. In the seventh and eighth lectures, an inquiry is made into the powers of the national government to provide security against danger from abroad, and to regulate intercourse with foreign powers. The ninth lecture sets forth the powers vested in the Federal administration for maintaining tranquillity and a proper intercourse among the States; and the tenth contains a review of its powers relative to other objects of general utility. The two remaining lectures are devoted to the constitutional restrictions upon the powers of the States, and to the provisions to give efficacy to the powers vested in the national government.

In these Lectures, it is obvious, that most of the topics connected with the political history of the country were necessarily

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* William Duer, a member from New York in 1777, and in the subsequent Congresses, who was characterized by John Adams, a good judge, "as a man of sense, spirit, and activity, and exceeded by no man in zeal."

† Sir William Alexander, better known as Lord Sterling.

brought under examination; and it is a cause of great congratulation, that they have in this volume found so able and impartial a commentator as President Duer. We cannot but hope, that the work will become a class-book for the rising generation.

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2. — *The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, with Notes.* By J. T. Champlin, Professor of Greek and Latin in Waterville College. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1843. 12mo. pp. 206.

A better edition of the Oration on the Crown than that of Mr. Negris — the only one accessible to the American student until lately — has been imperatively needed. The text of that edition is imperfect, and the notes are scanty, and frequently very incorrect. The political antiquities of Greece were but imperfectly understood by the editor, and his explanations on points relating to these subjects are often shallow and unsatisfactory.

On many accounts, this oration is the most valuable and interesting among all the remains of Attic eloquence. The time of its delivery, the events which gave occasion to the prosecution, the political situation of Greece after the battle of Chæronea, and the characters and position of the parties, conspire to render that great conflict of eloquence the most memorable in history. Demosthenes had long been the leader of the anti-Macedonian party. All his powers of mind, and his indomitable physical energies, had for years been incessantly exercised, in journeys from one end of Greece to the other, in numberless harangues, and in the transaction of every kind of public business. In this eager and earnest career of political action, he was of necessity brought into violent collision with the powerful party who were in the interest of Philip, and afterwards of Alexander. Political animosities, exceeding modern party hostilities in bitterness, necessarily sprang from this state of things; and the constitution of Athens gave many opportunities to opposing statesmen to annoy each other, and to wreak their vengeance under the sanction of legal forms. Demosthenes and Æschines had already measured their strength repeatedly in wielding these weapons; but the occasion of the Oration on the Crown brought the enmities and quarrels of many years to a head. Æschines had prosecuted Ctesiphon, who was a warm partisan of Demosthenes, for a violation of the constitution, in proposing to confer a crown upon the great orator for certain

specific services, and for the unwavering fidelity and patriotism which his whole political course had manifested. It was evident, that a proposition of this kind must be resisted, or the opposite party, by their silence, would be understood as admitting, that their own political conduct had been entirely wrong. It behooved them to put forward their strongest men, and to make their mightiest efforts, in a last struggle between the two sets of political principles. Æschines had every motive of private hostility and public opposition, to urge him to strain his powers to their highest tension. He did his best. On comparing his oration against Ctesiphon with his other pieces, we are struck by its great superiority. In strength and vehemence of language, in the skill with which facts are marshalled so as to bear down upon an adversary, in keenness of invective, and acuteness of argument, Æschines outdid himself, and only fell below his great antagonist. He has been sometimes blamed for dwelling at such great length upon the general political conduct of Demosthenes, instead of confining himself more closely to the illegality of Ctesiphon's proceeding, in the circumstances of the particular case; and he has been charged with a want of skill, in making his argument rest entirely on what, as it is said, he must have known to be the weak side of his own case, and the strong one of that of Demosthenes. But such critics misapprehend the great political issue then and there to be decided. Doubtless, Æschines felt the difficulty, and knew that he was treading on dangerous ground; but he knew that it would be still more dangerous to leave this ground, because that would have been confessing, in the face of all Greece, the political virtue of the Demosthenian party, and the political profligacy of his own. He must, therefore, gallantly join issue on the ground of general political merit, and try the chances of battle, rather than retreat without a struggle. Looking, therefore, upon Æschines as the representative of the party politically opposed to Demosthenes, and without reference to the actual merits of the cause, we say, that the course he adopted was the only judicious one. In his attack, he reviews the public life of Demosthenes for many years; and it must be admitted, that he shows, in doing it, masterly ability.

This course of the prosecution opened a wide field for Demosthenes, in his reply. He, too, reviews the whole course of his public life; and in explaining and vindicating his actions, he appeals with marvellous power to the elevated principles of patriotism and morality, to that lofty civic virtue, which it became the statesman of so magnanimous and illustrious a commonwealth as Athens to make the guide of his political con-

duct. This immense advantage, which Demosthenes had over his adversary, was inevitable, springing from the very nature of the long controversy, of which this trial was but the crisis. Demosthenes was a statesman of a much higher moral character than his opponent. He was able to show, that the policy he had invariably recommended was noble, and worthy of the high position his country had assumed and maintained; the results of his policy were in the hands of the gods.

But it is not our purpose at present to analyze this oration any further than is necessary to point out what is required in a good critical edition. The ground covered by this great state trial is very wide. It extends over many years of the most eventful period in the history of the Greek Republics. It abounds, therefore, in historical allusions, not circumstantially, but incidentally introduced. The trial was conducted under the technical forms, prescribed by the constitution of Athens. The oration, therefore, contains a vast number of juridical terms, of course, readily understood by the court to whom they were addressed, but requiring explanation for the modern student. Documents are cited, and dates given, from the public records; and, to understand their bearing, it is necessary to understand the forms in which legal documents were drawn up, and the principles of the Athenian calendar. Information on all these points, besides the critical and grammatical annotations, it is the duty of the editor to supply. He must furnish a careful commentary upon the laws and constitution, the judicial system especially, and the history, of Athens during the political career of Demosthenes.

These conditions have been ably fulfilled by the present editor. The text he has presented is a great improvement upon that of Mr. Negris. It is fairly printed, and on good paper; the only fault to be found with this part of the work is a number of typographical errors in that portion of the text which accidentally was deprived of the benefit of the editor's revision. A well written preface explains the editor's plan, and states the sources from which he has drawn his chief materials. This is followed by a copious analysis, embracing a general sketch of the plan of the oration, and then a careful enumeration of the topics, paragraph by paragraph, as they are successively handled by the orator. This analysis is carefully and accurately executed, and will be of material advantage to the student, for understanding the orator's arrangement. The text is followed by a body of notes, containing ample explanations of legal terms and technical formulas, historical facts comprehended in the political life of the orator, and careful analyses of the difficult passages. The best authorities have been freely consulted, and the infor-

mation they contain judiciously combined. Hermann's excellent Manual of Political Antiquities, and Thirlwall's learned and impartial History of Greece, have been constantly used. We approve the plan of this edition, and think the execution of it faithful and able. The work is a valuable addition to the series of classical books published in the United States. We do not always agree with the editor's explanations, because, probably, there are many things in the oration on which no two scholars will think perfectly alike; but in all cases, he makes us feel, that he has brought a strong mind, an acute analysis, and various knowledge to bear upon the difficult questions he discusses. The appearance of this book is another gratifying proof of the increasing attention paid to classical studies in the United States.

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3. — *Proceedings and Debates in the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, during the Four Days previous to the Election of a Speaker, in January*, 1843; *compiled from the several Reports of the same, revised, corrected, and enlarged, and preceded by an Introduction*, by Luther S. Cushing, Clerk of the House of Representatives. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 84.

This valuable pamphlet relates to an unprecedented and curious passage of parliamentary history. On the 4th day of January, 1843, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts came together, consisting of three hundred and fifty members, or thereabouts. No Governor had been chosen by the people, and only twenty-four members of a Senate which constitutionally must consist of forty. The House was, in due time, to go into convention with the members already elected to the Senate, and by joint ballot to fill the vacancies in that body, thereby determining its political character. This done, the House was to select two out of four names of candidates having the highest number of votes for Governor, and send them up to the Senate for its determination between the two.

All this, however, was to wait for the organization of the House by the election of a Speaker, which, accordingly, became a matter of the strongest interest, both as affording a test of the strength of parties, and as giving to the successful side an advantage in respect to further proceedings. The oldest member on the Boston seat having, agreeably to usage, called the Representatives elect to order, and the Governor having come in with

the Council and qualified them by administering the oaths, the House proceeded to the choice of a Clerk, and, by 176 ballots against 173, elected Mr. Cushing, who had served in that office with universal approbation for several years. What would the 173 members of that minority have had? What satisfactory or peaceable result could they have promised themselves from elevating to the place of temporary presiding officer over an assembly, which, in its transition state, had no Rules and Orders for its government, a person utterly incompetent, in point of experience, for such a formidable responsibility, to the exclusion of one of the very few men who with any reason could have been relied upon as being equal to the occasion?

On the first balloting for Speaker, 173 votes were cast for the candidate of each of the two great parties, and 3 for a candidate of the third (or *Liberty*) party. No choice being effected, a second balloting was ordered, which was attended with no better success; 175 votes being given to one candidate, 174 to another, and 2 to the third. On the third balloting, 350 votes were equally divided between the two leading names, and a fourth trial was ordered.

It was understood, that an individual had been voting, who had taken his place without being provided with the *primâ facie* evidence of election, namely, a certificate from the magistrates of his town. If his vote were disallowed, a Speaker had been chosen at the last trial. Accordingly, an order was now moved, "That Thomas Nash, junior, claiming a seat in this House as a representative from the town of Whately, be requested to state whether he voted at the election of Speaker at the last ballot." But Thomas Nash, junior, was disposed to state no such thing, nor his party to allow him to do so.

Accordingly, the motion was contested with a skilful and vehement display of parliamentary tactics on both sides. On the one part, it was urged, that the motion was out of order, unless the House should first reconsider its vote to proceed forthwith to another balloting; on the other, it was argued, that the question was one of privilege, which must of course take precedence of all other business. A motion "to lay the whole subject on the table," being debatable, like any other, in the present posture of the House, led to a discursive debate on the merits of the case, which occupied the rest of the day, and the House adjourned at half past five o'clock, without taking the question. In the course of the discussion, was produced a copy of the record of the town meeting at Whately, under which, in default of better evidence, the seat was claimed. From this record it appeared, that the present claimant had received 118 votes, another person

117, and two others, one vote each. Whether these two were legal votes, appeared to be the question on which would ultimately be determined the legality of the election. But the House could not investigate a question respecting a claim to a seat, till it should have a Committee on Elections; and no Committee on Elections could it have, until it had a Speaker. The question now demanding its decision was, whether a gentleman of leisure, not possessed of the legal *primâ facie* evidence of election to a seat, might step into the House, and assist it with his vote in organizing itself and the government.

The next day, the motion "to lay the whole subject on the table" being still under consideration, the debate was protracted into the afternoon, the leading topics being still the necessity of insisting on the legal *primâ facie* evidence of membership, in order to an organization of the House, and the circumstances of the particular case now in hand. The question being put, the monitor of the division in which Mr. Nash had taken his seat, gave in a double return, according as it would stand including or omitting the vote of that gentleman; and the clerk announced, that, "According to the return of the House, there were 173 votes in the affirmative, if the vote of the gentleman from Whately were counted, 172, if it were not counted, and 172 votes in the negative. Before the vote could be declared, therefore, it would be necessary for the House to decide, whether the gentleman from Whately should be counted or not." A motion was made to disallow the vote, and it was ordered, after some opposition from the claimant's friends, that the question on this motion, when taken, should be taken by yeas and nays, from a list to be furnished by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, of persons who had subscribed the oaths; and, in order to give time for the preparation of such a list, the House adjourned at half past five o'clock.

On Friday, the motion to disallow the vote of Mr. Nash was voted upon by yeas and nays, and was found to be carried by 177 votes against 175, that gentleman voting in the negative. This point settled, the vote of the previous day, upon the motion to lay on the table, was declared by the clerk to stand 172 against 172. Accordingly, that motion had not prevailed, and the question recurred on the point of order respecting the competency of the House, without first reconsidering its vote to proceed to a fourth trial, to entertain the motion for an inquiry of Mr. Nash, whether he had voted in the third balloting for Speaker. The mover of the Order for that inquiry hereupon withdrew his motion, at the request of one of his friends, who moved in its place the adoption of a Preamble and Resolve, declaring that,

the vote of Mr. Nash having been determined to be illegal, the candidate for the Speaker's chair, against whom his vote had been thrown at the third balloting, had been duly elected. The same point of order as before was raised upon this motion, which, after some conversation, was withdrawn. Next followed a motion for a Preamble and Order prohibiting both claimants of the seat for Whately from exercising any rights of a member of the House, till their respective claims should have been investigated by a committee. The debate upon this, and upon the point of order respecting its reception, occupied the remainder of another day. The point of order being overruled by a majority of six, and the motion being subsequently adopted by a majority of three, in a vote taken by yeas and nays, the House, after strong opposition to an adjournment, on the part of the hitherto successful party, at length, at half past five o'clock, voted, by a majority of three votes, to adjourn.

On Saturday morning, the House proceeded forthwith to a fourth balloting, in which the two leading candidates of the previous days received respectively 175 and 172 votes, while a new candidate, of the same school in politics as the latter, had three votes, understood to be given by members of the third party. Hereupon, the gentleman who had received the second largest number of votes announced his wish to retire from the contest; and the rival candidate, declining to follow the example, was abandoned by his friends, who at the next balloting threw all their votes but three for another candidate of their own, understood to be acceptable to the *Liberty* party. Against 175 votes, divided in this manner, Mr. Daniel P. King, formerly President of the Senate, the gentleman whose name had first appeared on the fourth balloting, was elected Speaker by a majority of one.

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts is not apt to be composed of disorderly or of timid men; but we doubt whether there was one of them, who did not draw a longer breath and feel an uncomfortable tension of his nerves relax, when he saw the Speaker conducted to the chair, and a functionary armed with the power of the constitution and the laws, installed in authority over those agitated elements.

The House proceeded to attend public worship; but first, on motion of the leader of the opposition, passed unanimously an order, "that the thanks of the House be presented to Luther S. Cushing, Esquire, its clerk, for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the arduous duties which have devolved upon him, during its organization, as its acting presiding officer." Never was such an unusual tribute better deserved.

Mr. Cushing's perfect familiarity with the rules and principles of proceeding inspired in all parties a perfect confidence, while his calmness and self-possession, his decision and promptness, his mildness, dignity, and quick sense of what was due to all parties, diffused a conciliating influence through the whole circle of the conflict. As presiding officer, his deportment would have been admirable. It was much more so, in the more critical situation which he filled, moderating in an excited assembly of which he was but the servant, himself clothed with none of the high powers to end a strife which belong to the Speaker's office, and the House free even from the restraints of a system of Rules and Orders. It was a merciful Providence, that frustrated the folly which would have put a helpless beginner in that place. The reign of Chaos and old Night would have been but too likely to come back again.

Yet, while so much praise is due to the accomplished acting moderator for the satisfactory result, we are equally bound to congratulate the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on the generally calm and dignified deportment of her Representatives throughout this critical transaction. No one who witnessed the scene, and understood the exciting character of the questions at issue, could doubt, that, in some legislatures of the day, disorder and violence would have had their perfect work before the termination of the controversy. The possession of the government of the Commonwealth till the period of another election was the immediate prize at stake, while the more considerate were still more concerned about the tremendous future consequences of permitting an unlicensed entrance into the legislative halls. There was that warmth in the debates which might have been expected from the occasion, and from the distinguished talent and energy of several of the speakers; heavy personal imputations were made to rest on some of the leaders of one of the parties; yet such was the tone of gravity, dignity, and self-respect that pervaded the body, that any symptom of ungovernable petulance was made to pass off harmless, and the spirit of ruffianism was held in check, as with an iron compression. "The gentleman from Seekonk," said the leader of the opposition, in the innocent fulness of his heart, "had alluded to the proceedings of Congress in a similar case. For his part, he did not wish to have that body referred to for a precedent. Here we settled our difficulties in a sober and decorous manner, and God forbid that this House should ever copy the doings at Washington." God forbid, indeed! And Massachusetts will have to level her schools and her churches first.

In the present publication, Mr. Cushing, has faithfully and fully told the whole story of this movement, except that part of it

which is as prominent as any in the memory of witnesses, the part relating to his own most intelligent and meritorious services. "The statement of the different questions, the remarks on the forms of proceedings and points of order, and the orders and motions submitted, are all given," says Mr. C., "from my own memoranda and the records and files of the House." The speeches are prepared, with one exception, from reports in the principal newspapers of the day, collected together, and corrected from Mr. Cushing's own notes taken at the time. The work cannot fail to have a permanent value, as the record of a very able assertion and maintenance of the all-important principle, that without legal *primâ facie* evidence of membership, no man may be admitted to take a part in the organization of a legislative body, or is entitled to a place therein, until such time as his claim has been investigated and established according to the forms of parliamentary proceeding. It will be a convenient and useful manual for reference, as often as hereafter any question shall come up touching the difference between a *bonâ fide* representative body and a self-constituted club, assuming to act with its authority and name.

In a Preface, full of choice learning in parliamentary law, Mr. Cushing treats of the forms of returns and admissions to representative assemblies, and expounds the principles and precedents upon which he acted, in declining, while officiating as temporary moderator of the House, to assume prerogatives of its Speaker, as, for instance, the decision of questions of order. The Preface concludes with a course of remark especially worthy of attention in these times of impatient innovation.

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4. — *An Introduction to Geometry, and the Science of Form. Prepared from the most approved Prussian Text-Books.* Boston: James Munroe and Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 159.

The tendency of the youthful mind to observe and study forms is developed by this book. This tendency is the earliest to show itself, and is very active in children of quick intellect. If improved in good time, a child may be easily inducted into a familiarity with the scientific arrangement and nomenclature of forms and solid bodies, and will bring to the study of Geometry, in the higher schools, a complete elementary knowledge of the subjects treated. The usual course of study neglects this invaluable preparation. Geometry is taken up as a science not

only severe, but comprehensive, when the pupil is too young to appreciate its scope and importance; and he must commence his hard task by loading his memory with definitions. It is a high merit of this "Introduction," that it teaches these definitions in a familiar way, long before they are required as the preliminary steps to abstract study. It also supplies such a rudimentary knowledge of the principles of Geometry, and their application, as lessens, if it does not remove, the difficulties attending the first efforts in theoretical reasoning. We cannot doubt, that the neglect, or rather the want, of such means of initiating a pupil into the science, has turned aside capacities suited to this study.

It would be trifling with our readers, to enlarge here upon the importance of Geometry as a branch of education. Neither is there any occasion to dwell upon the great help supplied by the use of solid figures. The "Introduction" begins with the simplest mode of teaching with tangible objects, in which common ideas are combined and classified, rather than new ones given. The child arrives at a definition by merely learning to distinguish previously acquired notions. From this humble beginning, the path to such proficiency as is required of candidates for admission to Harvard University is gradual, easy, and without any *pons asinorum* to abridge the progress of the pupil. The first lesson is a reply to the question, "What do you remark in this cube?" — the solid model being shown to the learner. The latter part of the book is devoted to miscellaneous propositions in mensuration and proportions. The former subject is not beyond the powers of a child six years old; whilst the scientific engineer may bring the latter into his daily practice. Yet the ascent is so easy, that a child of ordinary ability is in no danger of being fatigued.

It will be inferred from what has been said, that this work is practical. Its propositions are of the nature of problems, which most readily win the attention and engage the curiosity of the beginner, who, whilst amusing himself with toys, or the drawing-pencil, is imbibing, in a pleasing and insensible way, the fundamental truths of that science which embraces the mechanism of the heavens. This merit of the work will be appreciated, when it is considered how difficult it is to impress upon the juvenile mind its first abstract ideas. Not only are the senses and the perceptive faculties first developed, but they have attained a high degree of skill and accuracy, before the intellect is prepared to deal with its own materials.

The object of the "Introduction," which it is eminently suited to attain, is, to "help children to arrange what nature teach-

es." * And thus, when the pupil in more advanced life is taught the science in its strictly logical form, his mind being stored with these useful definitions, distinctions, and relations, "he must not only hear with pleased wonder, but grasp the truth, reflect on it, and apply it." †

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5. — *Guide for Writing Latin; consisting of Rules and Examples for Practice.* By JOHN P. KREBS. From the German, by S. H. TAYLOR, Principal of Phillips Academy. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1843. 12mo. pp. 479.

WE look upon the publication of Mr. Taylor's "Guide for Writing Latin" as an important contribution to the means of obtaining a more thorough and complete classical education in this country. The aids for our young students in acquiring such a knowledge and command of the Latin language as to be able to write it with correctness and ease have, hitherto, been few and insufficient. Neither the books used nor the method of instruction have generally been calculated to accomplish the object. The young American scholar, moreover, is without that stimulus which operates strongly in Europe, — the circumstance, that Latin, though no longer the means of communication between diplomatists and politicians, is still the peculiar language of those who have received an academic education. It is there presumed, that every one who has enjoyed this advantage is able to communicate his thoughts in Latin, whether by word of mouth or in writing. Hence every one who intends to maintain a respectable place in the republic of letters endeavours to qualify himself in this respect. This state of things operates on even the elementary schools. The acquisition of a sufficient command of the language is considered as something not merely possible, but necessary.

With us it is otherwise. The occasions for using the Latin language, either orally or in writing, are few, and are known to be few; and the productions called forth by these occasions are generally labored and far from successful. Being thus deprived of the motive by which the young European is impelled to greater exertion in this field, it becomes incumbent upon us to supply the deficiency by redoubled zeal and attention, at school and in college, and by appropriating to our use such aids as other countries afford, or by creating them among ourselves.

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* *Theory of Teaching*, p. 87. † Ibid., p. 96.

Books designed to afford assistance in writing Latin are, even in Europe, of comparatively modern origin. The task of acquiring a correct style was formerly left, in a great degree, to the exertions of the individual. The situation of the young scholar in this respect was very much like that of a person arriving in a foreign country without a knowledge of its language. Necessity forced him to acquire the accomplishment of writing and speaking Latin as best he might. We do not mean to say, that the schools furnished no assistance whatever; but the assistance given was practical more than theoretical, casual rather than systematic. As the art of instruction advanced, this branch was not overlooked. It was perceived, that, by the aid of system and method, the same amount of knowledge and practical skill might be gained in a more expeditious, and at the same time, more complete manner.

The earliest productions, intended to aid in the formation of a good Latin style, were either deficient in systematic completeness, or designed for the more advanced stages of the art, leaving the elementary stages to the former imperfect mode of instruction. Laurentius Valla may be considered as the founder of this branch of instruction. As early as the fifteenth century, he endeavoured to facilitate the acquisition of a correct Latin style, by the publication of his work: "*De Linguæ Latinæ Elegantiis Libri sex.*" The book, rich in clever remarks on grammatical points, synonyms, and phraseology, is deficient in method. After him, Erasmus, H. Stephanus, G. J. Voss, and many others, furnished contributions in the same department, without doing more to systematize the materials.

The first attempt at a *systematic* instruction was made in 1671, by J. Stark, in his "*Institutio philologica et rhetorica de Stilo*," but with little success. Far superior was the work of J. L. Prasche, "*Rosetum sive Præcepta Stili Latini*," published in 1676. Of the many who succeeded Prasche, we will mention a few only: J. G. Heineccius, in 1720, C. H. Weiss, in 1724, J. G. Scheller, in 1770, C. D. Beck, in 1801. The work of F. W. Doering has been of great service in Germany; for, though imperfect and incorrect in particulars, it pursued the right course. This accounts for the fact, that the work, the first edition of which appeared in 1801, has gone through at least eleven editions, and still maintains its place in many schools in Germany, notwithstanding the great number of books, in many respects far superior, which have appeared within the last twenty years in that country. Among these the work of Krebs, of which Mr. Taylor has now given us a translation, is distinguished for its excellence.

The translation of Mr. Taylor is executed with great care and correctness, evincing everywhere the judgment and experience of a *practical* instructer. We make this statement of our opinion after a careful perusal of the whole work. The judgment and learning of the translator appear especially in those portions of the book, which had necessarily to undergo some change, in consequence of the different positions of the English and the German student as regards translating into Latin. Thus, for example, the English scholar easily comprehends the Latin construction of the ablative absolute, his own language making a similar use of the participle, while it is altogether unknown to the German language; on the other hand, the German finds little difficulty in mastering the rules concerning the *oratio obliqua.* The changes, both by omission and addition, show that Mr. Taylor has fully comprehended the object of the book and the intention of its author; they are such as the author would himself have made, if he had prepared the work for English instead of German students.

Having received this valuable addition to our stock of schoolbooks, we hope ere long to see some such work as that of Zumpt,* or Weber,† and a translation of the work of Grysar, or the still better one of Hand, on Latin style. For, after having attained some expertness in the application of the several rules of grammatical syntax in single sentences, the next step is to practise in translating continuous pieces. Exercises of this kind are indispensable for obtaining a familiarity with the Latin mode of combining sentences into periods, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the language. After these preparatory exercises, the student is prepared to enter upon free composition, at first, in prose, and later, if aided by poetic talent, in verse.

The question has been, and is still asked, What is the use of writing Latin? Without entering at present upon a discussion of this interesting and important subject, we will confine ourselves to one remark. Of the many reasons which have been adduced by the friends of the ancient languages in favor of the practice of writing them, most, perhaps, may be successfully controverted except this; that, without writing, a thorough insight into the structure, and a complete appreciation of the spirit of the language is impossible, and consequently the acquisition of the language is incomplete.

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* *Aufgaben zum Uebersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische aus den besten neuern Lateinischen Schriftstellern gezogen.*

† *Uebersetzungsschule für den Lateinischen Stil.*

NOTE

TO ARTICLE IX. OF NUMBER 121.

We have received from Dr. Olin the following letter, in reply to the article in which his "Travels" were reviewed in our last Number.

"*To the Editor of the N. A. Review.*

"Dear Sir,

"The brevity prescribed to this note so greatly enhances the difficulty of proving a negative, — the task imposed on me by the criticism on my 'Travels' contained in your last Number, — that I shall attempt little more than to offer a full and unqualified denial of the charge of plagiarism and injustice towards Dr. Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' preferred against me in that article.

"Dr. Robinson was in Jerusalem in 1838. I was there two years later, in 1840. The 'Researches' were published in 1841. I saw them, for the first time, in January or February of 1842, when a large portion of my 'Travels' was ready for the press. Up to that time, I was entirely ignorant of their contents, the state of my health having compelled me to seclude myself from society, as well as from all intercourse with books and periodicals, during the fifteen months preceding November, 1841. I learned from Mr. Wheaton, in Berlin, in 1839, that Dr. Robinson had published a synopsis of the principal matters of the large work then in preparation; but neither he, nor Dr. Robinson himself, to whom I subsequently applied, could furnish me with a copy. To this moment, I am wholly uninformed as to the contents of that pamphlet. It was once handed to me by a fellow traveller, but under circumstances which compelled me to return it unread.

"A great part of my 'Travels' was written out, as they now appear, amid the scenes which they describe. The remainder, except when the contrary is avowed or manifest, was composed from full notes and observations always recorded on the spot. The numerous coincidences between Dr. Robinson's volumes and mine are only such as are natural or accidental, when writers, with similar ends in view, and the same guide-books in their hands, describe precisely the same objects, and derive the information generally from the same sources, — whether from natives, or resident foreigners, or prevalent traditions.

"I will now briefly notice the Reviewer's specifications, beginning with Mt. Sinai. I am charged with having adopted Dr. Robinson's arguments against the monkish Sinai, and in favor of

the true, and withholding all acknowledgment of his claims as the original discoverer of the holy mount. My account of Mt. Sinai, including these arguments, was written out in the convent of St. Catherine, nearly two years before I had any knowledge, that Dr. Robinson had argued the question at all. My subsequent perusal of the 'Researches' was so hasty as to leave on my mind no recollection of any claim to original discoveries in this region. The situation of the plain of the encampment, on which the whole argument turns, was described by Carne, Laborde, and Lord Lindsay, who preceded Dr. Robinson as well as me. Lord Lindsay's argument against the monkish Sinai, which was shown me at the convent by Mr. Humphrey of Boston, is substantially the same as mine, alleged to be a literal copy of Dr. Robinson's. He discusses at length the respective claims of Jebel Mennagia and the monkish Sinai to be the true Sinai, deciding in favor of the former, for reasons which seemed to me far more applicable to Jebel Shereyk, the Sooksafa of Dr. Robinson. The situation of this mountain, and the arguments, were forced upon my attention by the perusal of Lord Lindsay's book. I had heard from an Austrian gentleman, that Dr. Robinson believed Sooksafa to be the real Sinai, without one word as to its situation or the grounds of that belief; but I was unable to find any person who had heard of such a mountain; and it was not until two days after my own observations and Lord Lindsay's had satisfied my mind with regard to the subject, that I was told by the gentleman referred to, that a Bedouin boy had professed to know the Shereyk of Lord Lindsay by the name of Sooksafa. My account of Mt. Sinai is no more indebted to Dr. Robinson's, than his is to mine.

"I am next charged with doing injustice to Dr. Robinson's claims to the discovery of the true character of the arch of the bridge which connected the Temple with Mt. Zion, 'a discovery uniformly ascribed to him in Jerusalem both by residents and travellers.' I stated, on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, the English missionary, that 'its existence has long been known to European and other residents and travellers,' and that Mr. Catherwood recognized it seven years before. Mr. Nicolayson was my guide to this monument, and I recorded his statement and my own measurement at the time. I now declare, that I never saw or heard the name of Dr. Robinson connected with this subject in Jerusalem or elsewhere, until I read the 'Researches' nearly two years after my visit. Having no reason to distrust my own information, I of course presumed Dr. Robinson was in an error in regarding himself as the original discoverer. Mr. Catherwood, who is a professional architect, and the author of Dr. Robinson's plan of Jerusalem, as

well as the one always in my hand, in which he had laid down the Temple, Mt. Zion, and the valley between them, across which the arch looks directly, could hardly have doubted or been mistaken with regard to its design. Mr. Catherwood has often told me since, that my account is strictly true, and that he, as well as several other gentlemen with whom he conversed in Jerusalem, regarded and spoke of this monument as the remains of an ancient bridge, that connected the Jewish Temple with Mt. Zion. My declaration, that I could not learn that this monument had been mentioned by any modern traveller, appears under date of April 23d, 1840, and is strictly true. I should have referred to Dr. Robinson's account, which I saw nearly two years afterwards, but for the discrepancy between it and mine, to which, for insufficient reasons it may be, but assuredly not from selfish ends, nor from any unfriendly feelings towards Dr. Robinson, I did not wish to attract attention.

"In my description of the Dead Sea, I borrowed nothing from the 'Researches.' I might have given Dr. Robinson's valuable account instead of my own, derived from personal observations and inquiries, and from later travellers; and so I might have done, no doubt, to the advantage of my readers, with regard to many other objects. I professedly gave the dimensions of that sea as a conjecture merely, after repeating many discordant and irreconcilable accounts. Had I observed the alleged agreement of my statement with Dr. Robinson's estimate, I suppose I should have avoided the appearance of plagiarism by giving a different number, which would have satisfied my guess about as well. I read this portion of the 'Researches' without perceiving, that Dr. Robinson's account claims, and no doubt with a measure of justice, to rest on scientific *data*. I had noted one trigonometrical observation, which seemed to me not to be very satisfactory.

"With regard to the Tower of David, which I saw on my first entrance into Jerusalem, and very frequently afterwards, it being one of the most conspicuous objects in the holy city, my 'Travels' contain the results of my own observations, and of my frequent conversations with Mr. Nicolayson and others, from whom I learned, that the monument was usually held to be the Hippicus of Josephus, whose account I also consulted. It is a question again, whether I should have substituted for my own, Dr. Robinson's account, to which mine owes nothing.

"My statement and conjectures about the pool of Bethesda are also objected to, not as being false, but as concurring with Dr. Robinson. A careful perusal of what I wrote on this doubtful topic will show, that I expressed no opinion of my own, but only recounted several contradictory opinions, traditions, and facts, not

one of which was derived from Dr. Robinson, without attempting to reconcile them.

"I erroneously referred to Pococke as my authority for what I understood to be an old tradition, as well as a prevalent opinion at Jerusalem, in regard to the subterranean connexion between the fountains concealed by Hezekiah and those of the Virgin and Siloam. I should have quoted Richardson, who says, that the pool called the fountain of the Stairs, — the fountain of the Virgin, as I understood the passage, — 'receives a strong current of water by a subterraneous passage, cut in the north side of Mount Zion, which seems as if it came by a conduit cut through the rock, from the pool of Hezekiah, on the west side of the city.' This statement, which I had in my hand, taken in connexion with what was told me by Mr. Lanneau and others, as reported in my 'Travels,' and the Scriptural accounts, which I also carefully consulted on the spot, was the basis, and is indeed the substance, of the opinions and conjectures which I ventured to offer to my readers on this point.

"I will only add, with regard to the several topics selected by the Reviewer for animadversion, that I have not knowingly derived either facts, arguments, or opinions from Dr. Robinson. What his views were on these points I had never an intimation, until I read the 'Researches' in 1842. I have not since referred to that able and learned work; but I had not supposed, that it laid claim to original discovery in connexion with these topics, except in the case of the ancient arch. My companions in the Desert and in Palestine, I think, would all certify, that I worked hard and examined every thing for myself. Every attentive reader will perceive, that I take all proper occasions to do justice to Dr. Robinson's excellent volumes. I certainly have seen no reasons for changing my opinions about the identity of the Holy Sepulchre; but my language on that subject was unguarded, if it led the Reviewer to think, that it was from superstitious reverence, 'I stood on my knees and had a taper in my hand,' in examining the place of the Cross. The room was dark, and this, or some more lowly, attitude was necessary for the attainment of my object. "Stephen Olin.

"November 30th, 1843."

We are quite willing to place Dr. Olin's statement before our readers, leaving it for them to judge, after comparing those passages from the two works to which reference was made in our article, how far the explanation is a satisfactory one. We have no room for any other remarks at this time, but as there are some points in Dr. Olin's letter which require more particular comment, it is possible that we may return to the subject in another Number.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

The American Agriculturist's Almanac for 1844. By A. B. Allen, Editor of "The American Agriculturist." New York: J. Winchester. 8vo. pp. 62.

The Farmer's Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Rural Affairs. By Cuthbert W. Johnson, Esq., F. R. S. Adapted to the United States, by Gouverneur Emerson. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. 1165.

The Cultivator's Almanac, or Rural Calendar for the Year 1844. By Willis Gaylord and Luther Tucker. New York: M. H. Newman. 12mo. pp. 32.

ANNUALS.

The Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present. M DCCC XLIV. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. 296.

The New York State Register, for 1843. Containing an Almanac, Civil Divisions, and Census of the State, with Political, Statistical, and other Information. Edited by O. L. Holley. Albany: J. Disturnell. 12mo. pp. 432.

The American Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1844. Boston: David H. Williams. 12mo. pp. 342.

The United States Almanac; or Complete Ephemeris, for the Year 1844. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler. 12mo. pp. 316.

Statistical Almanac for the Year 1844, by Edward Delius. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 32mo. pp. 240.

Friendship's Offering, and Winter's Wreath. A Christmas and New Year's Present for M DCCC XLIV. Boston: Lewis & Sampson. 12mo. pp. 320.

The Drawing Room Annual; a Present for all Seasons. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 4to. pp. 64.

The Rose: or Affection's Gift for 1844. Edited by Emily Marshall. Illustrated with ten highly finished Steel Engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 256.

The Opal; a Pure Gift for the Holydays. Edited by N. P. Willis. With nine Illustrations, by J. G. Chapman. New York: John C. Riker. 12mo. pp. 264.

Diary for 1844; or Daily Register, for the Use of Private Families, and Persons of Business. Harrisburg, Pa.: Hickok & Cantine. 12mo. pp. 142.

The Literary Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present for

1844. With ten Engravings. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 252.

The Annualette. A Christmas and New Year's Gift for 1844. Edited by a Lady. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 12mo. pp. 142.

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The Little Keepsake, for 1844. Edited by Mrs. S. Colman. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 24mo. pp. 107.

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A Biographical Sketch of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky. By a Kentuckian. New York: Saxton & Miles. 8vo. pp. 46.

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Life of Andrew Jackson, Private, Military, and Civil. With Illustrations. By Amos Kendall. Part I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 48.

American Biography. By Jeremy Belknap, D. D.; with Additions and Notes by F. M. Hubbard. New York: Harper & Brothers. 3 vols. 18mo.

EDUCATION.

Penmanship, Theoretical and Practical, Illustrated and Explained. By B. F. Foster. Boston: Benjamin Perkins. 12mo. pp. 87.

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The Elements of Astronomy; designed as an Introduction to the Study. Prepared and published for Mrs. John Sharp Lawrence's School. New York: John S. Taylor & Co. 12mo. pp. 82.

A French Grammar; containing, besides the Rules of the Language, a Complete Treatise on Prepositions. By Count de Laporte, Teacher of the French Language in Boston. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 782.

Most of the text books in common use among us at the present day for instruction in French are designed only for beginners, and contain but a brief and imperfect view of the grammatical peculiarities of the language. A more full and elaborate treatise was needed for occasional reference by those who had made some progress in the study, and for constant use by all who aimed at a perfect mastery of the subject. In the large and hand-

somely executed volume now before us, Count de Laporte, a successful teacher in Boston, has endeavoured to supply this want, and, so far as we have had opportunity to examine the work, it appears to be executed with great care, judgment, and fidelity. The difficult subjects of the proper use of prepositions, and the regimen of verbs, are treated at great length, and in a very lucid and satisfactory manner. Examples are spread upon the page in great abundance, taken mostly from authors in high repute, and the minute and critical examination of them, though better adapted, perhaps, for a French treatise upon rhetoric, than for a manual to be used by foreigners in the acquisition of the language, is well calculated to give precision to the ideas of the student, and to impart some valuable information respecting the philosophy of language in general. But little is said on the subject of pronunciation, for the very satisfactory reason mentioned in the Preface, that if the pupil has a teacher, he will learn it by the ear; if he has not, the attempt to gain any correct knowledge of the peculiarities of French as a spoken language is hopeless. The Syntax is not treated separately in this grammar, the rules for the syntactical arrangement and construction of words being presented in connexion with what is said on the use of the different parts of speech. This is an innovation on the common method, but we are inclined to think that it is a judicious one. The volume contains no exercises for writing French, being already of great size without the introduction of such matter; but the author mentions his intention to publish another work, which will supply this deficiency.

We commend the book to the attention both of pupils and instructers in French, as we believe there are few among them who will not be benefited by the attentive perusal of it.

HISTORY.

Historical Notes of the American Colonies and Revolution, from 1754 to 1775. By William Griffith. Burlington, N. J.: Joseph L. Powell. 8vo. pp. 300.

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The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-Conformists; from the Reformation in 1517, to the Revolution in 1688. By Daniel Neal, M. A. Reprinted from the Text of Dr. Toulmin's Edition. Revised, corrected, and enlarged, by John O. Choules, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 144.

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Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Theron Metcalf. Vol. IV. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 648.

The Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and Additional Laws to 1844, reduced to Questions and Answers, for the Use of Schools and Families. By William B. Wedgwood, A. M. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 116.

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A Supplement to Hilliard's Digest of Pickering's Reports. Being a Digest of Pickering's and Metcalf's Reports. Volumes XV. Pickering to III. Metcalf, inclusive. By Francis Hillard. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 510.

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Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia. Celebration of the 100th Anniversary, May 25th, 1843. Philadelphia: John C. Clark. 8vo. pp. 232.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXXIII.

APRIL, 1844.

ART. I.— *The False Heir.* By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq., Author of "Morley Ernstein," "Forest Days," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price one shilling. 1843.

THE author of "Sartor Resartus," in a petition to the House of Commons, on the copyright question, signs himself "Thomas Carlyle, a Maker of Books." This phrase, which applies to Herr Teufelsdröckh only in a quaint sense, is applicable to Mr. G. P. R. James in its literal meaning. He is, indeed, no "maker" in the old significance of that term, for he creates nothing; but he is emphatically a literary mechanic. The organs of his brain are the tools of his trade. He manufactures novels, as other people manufacture shoes, shirts, and sheetings. He continually works up the same raw material into very nearly the same shapes. The success he has met with in his literary speculations should be chronicled in the Merchants' or Mechanics' Magazine. He is a most scientific expositor of the fact, that a man may be a maker of books without being a maker of thoughts; that he may be the reputed author of a hundred volumes, and flood the market with his literary wares, and yet have very few ideas and principles for his stock in trade. For the last ten years, he has been repeating his own repetitions, and echoing his own echoes. His first novel was a shot that went through the target, and he has ever since been assiduously firing through the hole. To protect his person from

critical assault, he might pile up a bulwark of books many volumes thick and many feet high. Yet the essence of all that he has written, if subjected to a refining process, might be compressed into a small space, and even then would hardly bear the test of time, and journey safely down to posterity. When we reflect upon the character and construction of his works, and apply to them certain searching tests, they dwindle quickly into very moderate dimensions. We find, that the enormous helmet encloses only a small nut, that the nut is an amplified exponent of the kernel, and that the kernel itself is neither very rich nor very rare. As space has no limits, and as large portions of it are still unoccupied by tangible bodies, it seems not very philosophical to quarrel with any person who endeavours to fill up its wide chasms; yet, in the case of Mr. James, we grudge the portion of infinite space which his writings occupy. We dispute his right to pile up matter, which is the type or symbol of so small an amount of spirit. We sigh for the old vacuum, and think, that, though nature may have abhorred it in the days of Aristotle, her feelings must have changed since modern mediocrity has filled it with such weak apologies for substance and form.

Piron, standing before the hundred volumes of Voltaire, remarked, "This luggage is too heavy to go down to posterity." What would he have said, if he could have seen the hundred volumes published by Mr. James? We think of the "Vicar of Wakefield," which one can carry in his pocket; of Charles Lamb's delightful "Essays"; of the tragedy of "Ion"; and of many other small and precious gems, which time cannot dim; and when we contrast these with Mr. James's voluminous mediocrity and diffusive commonplace, we obtain a new and vivid idea of the difference between quantity and quality.

When a man has little or nothing to say, he should say it in the smallest space. He should not, at any rate, take up more room than suffices for a creative mind. He should not provoke hostility and petulance, by the effrontery of his demands upon time and patience. He should let us off with a few volumes, and gain our gratitude for his benevolence, if not our praise for his talents. But when we find him "multiplying himself among mankind," and looking out upon us from such a vast variety of points, — demanding our assent to the common notion that he is a great producer of

thought and sentiment, — we are provoked into a desire to sift his pretensions to the bottom.

We would not be so unjust to the numerous readers of Mr. James, even to that unfortunate portion of them who consider him the legitimate successor of Scott, as to assert their ignorance of his faculty of reproduction. A dim reminiscence, similar to that on which Plato founds his doctrine of the soul's preëxistence, they must have had occasionally, while re-perusing an old novel in a new dress. A dull country gentleman was once seduced into an attempt to read the "Vicar of Wakefield." He journeyed through that exquisite book, seemingly at the rate of ten pages an evening; but when he laid it down for the night, and carefully marked the place where he stopped, some impudent niece or nephew put the mark about eight pages back in the volume. Of course, many months elapsed before he arrived at the end. He was then asked how he was pleased with it; "Oh! he liked it very well, but he thought there was a little repetition in it!" An objection somewhat similar to this, we have heard made against Mr. James, and with about as clear an insight into the real secret of the matter.

To write a good novel, or a series of good novels, is not generally considered, even by those whose whole reading is confined to romance, to require any great effort of talent or genius. A man who repeats some axioms in physics, or wraps up a plain fact in a metaphysical shroud, is more likely to be considered as a great personage, than a writer of creative mind, who thrills the heart, or warms the imagination, with a prose epic. The products of the inventive powers rarely obtain so much of the popular reverence, as the deductions of the understanding. Works which have caused their authors vast labor and patient meditation; which have stimulated every faculty of their nature to the utmost; which may have required not only the highest imagination, but the deepest and most comprehensive thought; and which are pervaded, it may be, by the results of a whole life of feeling, action, observation, and reflection; are still generally classed as "light reading." It may be light *reading*, but nothing is more certain than that it is not commonly light *writing*. The novel of "Ivanhoe" may be placed by some in the department of light literature. But if those who coolly classify in this manner would but reflect upon

the vast and minute knowledge of English history it displays, the power of intellect evinced in the conduct of the story, and the greater power of imagination exercised in making the dead past a living present, — and, especially, if they would bring to mind the author, as he appeared while the scene between Rebecca and the Knight Templar was circling through his heart and fancy, as he strode hurriedly up and down his study, with his face agitated by high passion, and his lips quivering with the intensity of his feelings, — they might perhaps think, that the matter was not so "light" after all, and that any word suggestive of indolence was the most inapplicable that could be used.

In reading novels, but little regard is paid to the high genius which they sometimes manifest. The interest of the story is the test which is usually applied by the general reader. A young lady reads with great delight "The Scottish Chiefs," "The Children of the Abbey," or "Santo Sebastiano." The sentiments are refined, the incidents please, and the whole work is "*so* interesting!" She takes up the "Bride of Lammermoor," a tragedy which Sophocles might have written, had he lived in this age, and acknowledges that, though it is interesting, it is an unpleasant book, for it ends badly. And thus she judges. To her, Miss Porter, Mrs. Roche, Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Edgeworth, Scott, Bulwer, James, and Dickens are all delightful novelists, all interesting, and therefore, all equally good, except that Scott and Dickens are sometimes inclined to low humor, and are not always so refined as the others. At the same time, she acknowledges that reading their books is a frivolous occupation, and is likely to unfit the mind for practical duties; and she throws out dubious hints of the histories and philosophies which form the staple of her reading, and of the scientific lectures which she honors with her attendance.

The absence in most minds of any clear principles of criticism, and the many bad and feeble novels which are mixed up confusedly with those which are excellent, are the probable causes of this hallucination. We are often struck with the lack of discrimination, even of sensible people, on this subject. Smollet and Fielding are placed in the same category with Ainsworth and Lever, and all are often confounded with Dickens. The peculiar taste and idiosyncrasy

of each writer, the diversity both in the subject and the manner of its treatment, the different faculties exercised by each, and the wide difference in the moral character unconsciously impressed on their works, — all these points are repeatedly overlooked. All these works please, and help to wile away an hour of *ennui* or leisure, and they all are classed under one undistinguishing name. Few think, that the mere fact of writing a good work of fiction entitles an author to a high rank, even among those who are called imaginative writers. Pope, they think, will outlive the whole tribe.

Novel-writing, then, is generally deemed to be as "easy as lying." The facility with which things called novels are written seems to favor the dogma. Still, we humbly conceive it to be an error. Many persons have attained a marvellous proficiency in falsehood, and tell lies as assiduously as a friar does his beads; but the number of great novelists is small. Lying, therefore, is no key to the mystery of romance. Let us seek the solution in a rarer quality — truth. "I can write prose as well as Mr. Pope," said the sagacious Edmund Curll, the bookseller; "but he has a *knack* of rhyming which I do not possess." Now the difference between Mr. Curll and Mr. Pope is no greater than that which exists between good and bad novelists. The former have a certain "knack" which the latter cannot obtain; — and this is the knack of seeing and telling the truth. Here is an important distinction. The power of faithfully delineating life, character, society, and manners, is one of the rarest gifts of genius. In its greatest manifestations, it is felt to be the noblest exercise of a creative mind.

Now Mr. James, in some of the most important qualifications of a novelist, is remarkably deficient. He has little objectivity. He is chained to his own consciousness. His insight into character and life is feeble. He cannot go out of his own little world of thought and emotion, and sympathize with other grades and modes of being. Every thing he writes is "sicklied o'er" with his own feelings. There is no spontaneous exercise of his faculties, — none of that yielding of the will and reason to the impulses of imagination and passion, — none of that running over of the heart in the worship of the mind's creations, — none of that forgetful-

ness of self in sympathy with other beings, — which we observe in the masters of his art. His plots, his characters, his emotions, his outbreaks of feeling, are all deliberated and forced. He places a moral reflection, or a feeble speculation, at due pauses in the march of his story, with a sort of mathematical precision. The reader who desires not to have his principles corrupted by unconscious sympathy with any act or utterances of the characters in the novel, which may not square with the moral code, is soon relieved from any apprehension of the kind, by noticing that Mr. James follows the progress of the plot, catechism in hand, and reads a homily from it whenever the necessities of morality require. If he had written the tragedy of "Othello," and had put into Iago's mouth the words which Shakspeare uses, he would have filled half of the page with notes, stating his reasons for such an outrage upon morality, carefully distinguishing between his own opinions and those of the character, and adding copious truisms on the wickedness of malice and revenge. Mothers, therefore, think they can trust their children to the care of Mr. James, and are willing that they should journey through the land of romance under his guidance. As soon as one of his novels is issued, the newspapers devote a column to his "beautiful" moral reflections and rose-colored sentiments. Readers who have a right to demand, that the journal should be filled with news and advertisements, find themselves cheated and bored, by being compelled to admire the old speculations of Mr. James on destiny, fatalism, the affections, the will, and such other topics as form the staple of his colloquies with the reader.

Now this is "from the purpose" of novel-writing. To a person accustomed to the manner of greater and more artistical novelists, it is an unendurable infliction. If the thoughts were valuable in themselves, bore any marks of originality and freshness, seemed to be called forth naturally by the incidents related, or were woven with any skill into the texture of the narrative, they might be pleasing; but the understanding of Mr. James never succeeds in the attempt to clutch an original idea, or to speculate on any subject which requires dialectical power; and, consequently, he doses the reader with truisms, or perplexes him with reveries. He gives dim hints of his opinions on any question of metaphysics which crosses the path of his narrative,

but he does not grasp and attempt to answer it. The most striking instances of "catching at ideas by the tail," of which we have any knowledge, are seen in his reveries on destiny, which re-appear in each successive work that comes from his fertile pen and unfruitful intellect. It seems astonishing, that a man could have this subject so often in his mind, for a period of twenty years, and not blunder upon some opinion about it, correct or erroneous. He does not appear to know, that his unformed notions on this point, so far as they can be reduced to formulas, lead directly to fatalism.

But the great defect of Mr. James as a novelist is his lack of skill in the creation or accurate delineation of individual character. If the novel be intended as a mirror of actual life, either past or present, it should contain not only events, but men and women. Character should be exhibited, not didactically, but dramatically. We demand human beings, — not embodied antitheses, or personified qualities, thoughts, or passions. The author has no right to project himself into his characters, and give different proper names to one personality. We want a forcible conception and consistent development of individual minds, with traits and peculiarities which constitute their distinction from other minds. They should be drawn with sufficient distinctness to enable the reader to give them a place in his memory, and to detect all departures, either in language or action, from the original types. We desire beings, not ideas; something concrete, not abstract.

To fulfil this condition seems easy; but the scarcity of men and women in current romances and plays proves at once, that it is difficult and indispensable. A wide range of what is sometimes called "characterization" is very rarely found, even in the works of men of genius, or rather men *with* genius. Byron's power in this respect only extended to one character, and that was his own, placed in different circumstances and modified by varying impulses. When he aimed at a larger range, and attempted to give freshness and life to individual creations, the result was feebleness and failure, which the energy and splendor of his diction could not wholly conceal. Manfred, Childe Harold, and Don Juan are the different names of one mind. Shakspeare's Timon comprehends them all, and is also more naturally

drawn. Innumerable instances might be given, of strenuous attempts made in this difficult department, which have ended in ignominious failure. Dr. Young's Zanga and Shiel's Pescara are ideas and passions embodied. Iago is a man, possessing ideas and passions.

In truth, to be successful in the exact delineation of character requires a rare combination of powers, — a large heart and a comprehensive mind. It is the attribute of universality, not of versatility, or subtilty. It can be obtained only by outward, as well as inward, observation. That habit of intense brooding over individual consciousness, of making the individual mind the centre and circumference of everything, which is common to many eminent poets of the present age, has turned most of them into egotists, and limited the reach of their minds. They are great in a narrow sphere. They have little of that clear catholicism of spirit, which is even "tolerant to opposite bigotries"; which seeks to display men as they are, not as they may be, or ought to be; which is not fanatical for one idea, and seeks not to be considered as the one inhabitant of the whole earth. Most of our great poets of the present century have taken the world into their hands, and made it over again, agreeably to a type of excellence in their own imaginations. The current subjective metaphysics of the day pursues the same method. Egotism in poetry and in philosophy meets us everywhere. The splendid mental qualities often exercised in both redeem them from the censure we apply to meaner and smaller attempts in the same one-sided, subjective method.

Not in this manner did Shakspeare work. It was not from a lack of imagination, that he did not turn every thing he touched into "something rich and strange." His excursions into the land of dream and fancy throw all others into the shade. But he knew when and where outward men and events should modify inward aspirations and feelings. He would not do injustice even to crime or folly, but represented both as they are. In what may be called the creation of character, in distinction from its delineation, as in Hamlet, Macbeth, and Lear, his excellence is unapproachable. In no other department in which the human intellect can be exercised, does it so nearly approach the divine, as in this. It is creation in the highest human sense

of the term. It takes the elements of humanity, and combines them in such a manner as to produce a new individual, essentially different from other beings, yet containing nothing which clashes with the principles of human nature. Who believes, that a character exactly like Macbeth or Miranda ever existed; yet who ever thought they were unnatural? In fact, these ideal beings are as true existences to the soul, as any friends or enemies whom we see bodily. They are more real than most of the names of persons which we read in history. We quote their sayings, and refer to their actions, as if they were living beings. They are objects to us of love or hate. We take sides for or against them, in all their principles and actions. We forget the author in his creations.

The delineation of character, in which observation, reflection, and imagination are variously exercised, is also a high merit in a poet or novelist. English literature contains many authors who have evinced great skill in the use of this power, and it is indispensable to the novelist of real life. The Vicar of Wakefield, Parson Adams, Squire Western, Rob Roy, Baillie Nicol Jarvie, and Tony Weller are names taken at random, but they are all living beings. They are our friends from the moment we make their acquaintance. Has Mr. James added one to this company? Has he delineated a single character which is wedded to our memories? Yet few authors have written more novels; and his volumes are filled with more names of persons than would suffice for a chronological table to a universal history.

He has certain types of character, which he generally reproduces in each successive novel. And here we would do Mr. James complete justice. He has an exact sense of moral distinctions, and his personages, though not strictly individuals, are walking essays on character, replete with instruction, and displaying some analytical skill. His hero is generally brave, loving, noble in mind and heart, combining reflection with action, and is a fit model for imitation, if we except the number of men he slays in the course of the story. As he does this, however, in a perfectly chivalrous way, and is justified in it by the usages of the times in which the person is supposed to live, we hardly think that even the peace societies would take much exception to the

practice. The moral tone of thought and action is generally high and true. The heroine is always idealized into something which is neither spirit, nor flesh and blood. We perceive that the author has an exalted feeling of the beauty of woman's character, and has a desire to represent it in concrete, so that it will strike forcibly upon the heart, and be garnered in the memory; but he fails in his purpose. His women, like his men, are ideas and feelings embodied. They are constructed, not created, or painted; built, not drawn. They do not stand boldly from the canvass. They are, to our minds, reflections on female character, like those we read in the "Rambler." We are told by the author, that they act, suffer, love, and hate; but we do not find it out for ourselves. His heroine is so beatified with description, that she loses all hold upon sympathy. Die Vernon and Jeanie Deans whisper in our hearts, that she does not strictly belong to the sex. She is a beautiful icicle, flushed with the sun's tints, and having the appearance, but not the reality, of warmth. She is a frail, delicate, lovely, unreal creature, whom we praise and admire, as we do all that is good and beautiful. We hope that she will get safely through all her troubles — that her health will not be injured by mental distress or outward accident — and that she will in the end be happily married. She is "A Young Lady's Guide," walking "from the covers."

Now all this, we repeat, is "from the purpose" of novel-writing. If we compare one of Mr. James's heroines either with a fine creation, like Desdemona, or a natural delineation, like Sophia Western, or a purely ideal portrait, like Shelley's Cythna, we perceive, that he fails in each and every department of the creation and portraiture of character. She is neither the reality, nor the possibility, of woman.

Connected with these names of good persons, there is generally a scoundrel. The mechanical nature of Mr. James's mind is shown more in the construction of his wicked personages, than in anything else. His rascal is an unmitigated rascal. He takes the idea of a man with a sharp intellect and great capacity, whose whole nature is under the dominion of selfish passion, — gives the idea a name, and intermingles it with the machinery of his plot. This criminal appears regularly in every novel, and labors

assiduously to overthrow the hero and heroine. He is something like Gammon, in "Ten Thousand a Year." He has the advantage over goodness, until nearly the end of the volume, and is then dismissed to proper punishment. This type of character is the most forcible of the author's attempts; but Rashleigh Osbaldistone, or Varney, throws it into the shade. Whenever Mr. James aims to draw humorous persons, to fill in the spaces of his narrative, he never succeeds, not even in making them say witty or humorous things.

We might extend these remarks to other personages in our author's novels; but it is needless. If we are correct in the view we have taken, it is proved, that Mr. James, in several high qualities of romance, is deficient. Yet he is compared, by many of his admirers, with Scott. Their reasoning to support so singular a conjunction must be drawn from the stores of honest Fluellen. Mr. James chooses historical events as the basis or auxiliary of his plot, and pours forth novels as other men do essays; Sir Walter Scott did the same; therefore, they bear a surprising resemblance to each other as novelists. This is the old argument; "There is a mountain in Wales, and there is a mountain in Macedon." In truth, no two writers have less in common, in the essentials of their art, than Scott and James. Scott's marvellous range of character, the fertility with which he created or painted individual beings, his genial sympathy with his race, his remarkable objectivity of mind, his open sense to all outward objects, would alone constitute a great gulf between him and James. He did not repeat himself in his novels. He wrote fast, because his mind produced quickly. In the poorest of his novels, he always gives us some characters whom we ever remember with pleasure. Mr. James's knowledge of history, great as it is, and much as he draws upon it, is used without any of the peculiar power of imagination with which Scott gave life and hue to what were before mere names, and made his readers contemporaries with the past. A king, a man-at-arms, or a tournament, delineated by the author of "Waverley," is presented to our minds as vividly as real personages or events, which have passed before our own eyes. To this pictorial imagination Mr. James has little claim. He gives to his scenes the vividness of history, not that of reality, or romance.

A writer who chooses great subjects and personages for his themes often obtains that rank in general estimation, which should be held only by those who treat them with eminent ability. Mr. James is considered by many to be a greater man than Mr. Dickens, because he delineates kings and nobles ; describes battles ; shows a minute acquaintance with history ; makes all his characters mathematically moral or immoral ; strains ever to obtain a certain stilted elevation of thought and sentiment ; is careful never to wound the most fastidious delicacy with any words which may convey or suggest unpleasant and vulgar images ; and speculates dubiously on government, nature, the arts, religion, and destiny. We are quite sick of hearing him praised for his attempts, instead of being judged by his execution. One of Mr. Dickens's coachmen is more worthy of admiration than one of Mr. James's kings. A cardinal, or a pope, may be a loftier personage than a poor parish priest ; to delineate the former, "from the heart outwards, and not from the flesh inwards," may be a greater triumph of art than to succeed in portraying the latter ; but still Parson Adams "bears the gree" from all the clerical dignitaries of romance. The nature of the man should not be confounded with his name or his garb. To call a personage a bishop, and to represent him in the dress of his order, is not to delineate a bishop. Beneath all externals, there are a human heart and brain, and an individuality distinguishing him from every other bishop. To exhibit him dramatically, either in play or novel, it is indispensable that these characteristics should be preserved.

It may be asked, why it is, if Mr. James is thus deficient in the higher qualities of the novelist, that his works are so popular. Are they not read and admired by thousands? They *are* read, admired, and forgotten. They are not read a second time. By the time one has passed from the memory, another flows into it, which, in its turn, gives place to a third. No characters or incidents adhere to the mind, and become to it a possession for ever. After we have studied them all, we find that they have only given us general ideas, or furnished us with historical knowledge. We love and remember none of his personages for themselves alone. They are all insensibly resolved into their original abstractions. We recollect one of his few types of character, as we remember a proposition in Combe's "Constitution of Man."

But it may still be asked, Whence comes it, that his novels are read at all? We might here avail ourselves of a New England privilege, and answer this question with another equally pertinent. Why are the productions of fanaticism, quackery, bad taste, and sentimentality read? Why do melodramas draw larger audiences than "Macbeth"? But we have no wish to evade difficulties, by insisting strongly on the rights derived from our local position. We answer, therefore, by acknowledging, that, though the test of merit is not success, yet there must be some reason in the construction of a popular book, to account for its popularity; and in Mr. James's case, this public favor is owing to the intricacy and interest of his plots.

The incidents in his novels are brought together with much cunning and skill. Every person who begins one of his books desires to get through it as quickly as possible. To many this may appear the highest praise, and to settle the question at once. To us, it does not so appear. Although the power of creating incident, and of skilfully linking one event to another, is an important element of a good novel, yet it is not the most important, nor is it one in which Mr. James enjoys preëminence. When we discover the secret of his method of story-building, our admiration decreases greatly. We acknowledge, that his novels are interesting, that they awaken and fix attention; but we discriminate between the kind of interest they excite, and the interest of "Tom Jones" or "Ivanhoe." We perceive that his plots are pieces of machinery, constructed according to the laws of mathematics. Their intricacy, and not their naturalness, is the source of their hold upon our minds. The characters seem not to have free play. They are puppets, moved by the scheming brain of the author. We know that the hero and heroine will enjoy no felicity or peace until the conclusion of the third volume, and we hasten to the consummation as fast as our eyes can carry us. The world to which we are introduced is not a free, common world, where there are chances in favor both of vice and virtue; but a fenced park, full of man-traps and spring guns. A sort of iron necessity conducts every thing. We do not feel ourselves safe, until we have come to the conclusion. A sort of feverish, unhealthy excitement is the feeling we experience as we read. There is always some murder, forgery, or other

dark crime, in the past or the future, which we have a natural desire to expose and punish. The good characters are entangled in such a web of evil ; there is such a provoking succession of premeditated accidents which seem untoward ; they are walking so long on the verge of a deep gulf, into which the slightest false step may precipitate them ; that our feelings of philanthropy are enlisted in their behalf, and the common axioms which forbid cruelty to animals impel us to wish them speedy death or happiness.

Mr. James is also a spendthrift of human life. When he has done with a character, or thinks it necessary to enhance the interest of his story by something awful, he strikes his pen into one of his *dramatis personæ*, without the slightest mercy, and literally blots him from existence. He knows well, that murder and violence are popular in romance, and he is desirous, like a sagacious book merchant, to make the supply equal to the demand. Whether he has any compunctious visitings of conscience, after gratifying, in this manner, his murderous thoughts, we are unable to determine ; but we think the carelessness with which he slays evinces the feebleness with which he conceives. If his personages were real to his own heart or imagination, if they were any thing more than clothed ideas and passions, we doubt if he would part with them so easily, or kill them with such *nonchalance*. His hero, of course, is preserved amidst the general slaughter, but not without many wounds both of the body and spirit.

We have heard the style of Mr. James praised, but on what principle of taste we could never discover. To us it seems but ill adapted to narrative. It has little flow and perspicuity, and no variety. It is usually heavy, lumbering, and monotonous. His sentences seem constructed painfully, yet doggedly, and not to spring spontaneously from his brain, inspired by the thought or feeling they are intended to convey. The impression they leave upon the mind is a little unpleasant. Half of the words seem in the way of the idea, and the latter appears not to have strength enough to clear the passage. Occasionally, a short, sharp sentence comes, like a flash of lightning, from the cloud of his verbiage, and relieves the twilight of his diction ; but generally, the reader must plod laboriously through one of his volumes, and, if he can overlook the style in the incidents, it is all the

better for his patience. James has none of that wonderful power of clear narration, which we observe in Scott; that ductile style, which changes with each change in the story, and seems insensibly to mould itself into the shape of the thought and emotion which are uppermost at the time. Nor has he any of that quiet, demure humor, which Scott often infuses into the very heart of his diction, as in the first hundred pages of "Redgauntlet." There is a strait-laced gravity in Mr. James's manner, which is often ridiculous, because wholly inappropriate. In all those higher qualities of style, which do not relate to the mere rhetorical arrangement of words and sentences, but spring directly from passion, fancy, or imagination, and bear the impress of the writer's nature, he is very deficient. There are but few felicitous phrases in his manifold volumes. He has hardly any of those happy combinations of words, which stick fast to the memory, and do more than pages to express the author's meaning. With all his command of a certain kind of elegant language, he has little command of expression. His imagination, as a shaping power, has either no existence, or he writes too rapidly to allow it time to perform its office. His imagery is common; and his manner of arraying a trite figure in a rich suit of verbiage only makes its essential commonness and poverty more evident. His style is not dotted over with any of those shining points, either of imagery or epigram, which illumine works of less popularity and pretension. To us his temperament seems sluggish, and is only kindled into energy by the most fiery stimulants. "A slow, rolling grandiloquence" seems his rhetorical ideal, and he does not always succeed in attaining even that humble height of expression. As his object, however, seems to be to fill out three volumes with a narration of incidents which will please, rather than to cultivate any of those qualities of condensation and picturesqueness which would compress them into one, we may not be justified in interfering between him and his bookseller.

In these remarks, we do not intend to say, that our novelist has no passages which clash with this opinion of his style. It would be a monstrous supposition, that a human being could possibly write a hundred volumes, without being betrayed at times into eloquence and beauty of expression. We refer, in our strictures, to general traits, not to individ-

ual exceptions ; to the desert, and not to the oases in it. Mr. James evidently possesses talents sufficiently great to enable him to write well, if he would only learn to "labor and to wait" ; but he is cursed with the mania of book-making, and seems to look more to the number of his pages than to the quality of his rhetoric.

In these remarks on Mr. James, as a novelist, we have intended to do him no injustice. We are willing to grant him the praise of talents and learning, and to do fit honor to the moral purpose he seems to have in his writings. But we dispute his claim to those qualities which constitute the chief excellences of a novelist ; we doubt his possession of that fecundity of mind, which can produce a series of novels, without constant repetition of old types of character and old machinery of plot. If the severity of our criticism has ever run into fanciful exaggeration, it has been owing to the petulant humor engendered by exposing unfounded pretension.

Indeed, Mr. James does not appear like a man who could be wounded or hurt by severe criticism. The abstract character of the personages of his novels affects our own view of himself. We oppose him as we would oppose an idea or a principle. We do not consider him as an individual. Our imagination refuses to shape the idea suggested by his name into a palpable person. Whenever an author appears to our mind in a concrete form, the quality of mercy we extend to his compositions is never "strained". We feel for his pardonable vanity, and we would launch at him no sarcasm calculated to lacerate his delicate sensibilities. He is a human being, a brother, or, at least, a cousin. If he be a dunce, we pat him on the shoulder, and tell him to try again. If he be a man of talents, with some absurd or pernicious principles, we regret that the latter should weaken the respect we bear to the former. But not so is it with Mr. James. We no more think of hurting his feelings by sharp criticism, than of wounding the sensibility of Babbage's calculating machine by detecting it in a mathematical error. To us he is a thin essence, impenetrable to the weapons of earthly combat, and unmoved by any hail-storm of satire which might seem to beat on his frame. He is an abstraction, and, therefore, the last person to expect, that a reviewer will hide the thorns of analysis in the flowers of panegyric.

ART. II. — *Poems*, by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Cambridge : Published by John Owen. 1844. 12mo. pp. 279.

MR. LOWELL has already taken a high rank among the younger poets of America. His former volume, "A Year's Life," was noticed at some length in this Journal, immediately on its appearance ; and the opinion of its merits and defects, which we then pronounced, has been sanctioned on the whole by the assent of the public. Mr. Lowell has since appeared as a contributor to several journals, besides having edited for some time a monthly magazine, "The Pioneer," with marked ability. In this, he published prose papers, which, in our judgment, are among the very best of his writings ; we refer particularly to the articles on English song-writers. They show a deep appreciation of the poetical merits of those authors, and a fineness of critical tact quite unusual in the literature of the magazines.

Mr. Lowell evidently feels the sanctity of the poetical vocation. He devotes himself to it heart and soul, laboring to exercise his mind in careful study of the art, with respect both to thought and execution. Since the publication of his first volume, he has made great progress. He has acquired a more complete command of versification and language. He has, to a great extent, freed himself from the affectations and puerilities which were disagreeably prominent in that work. Affectation is one of the principal dangers that seem to beset American literature. In the throng and pressure of older communities, where the great mass of present literature is produced, oddities and affectations, unless they are supported by extraordinary genius, are soon laughed out of countenance. Ridicule is the keen weapon under which they speedily fall and expire. But in our country, intellectual powers are not brought into such perpetual collision ; and the poet has by no means so fearful an ordeal to pass through. If he show tolerable skill in versifying, if he marshal sounding sentiments into smoothly flowing lines, he is pretty sure to be set down, by one *coterie* at least, as a great poet, if not the very greatest of the country and age. We have among us little companies of people, each of which "keeps its poet" ; and not content with that, proclaims

from its small corner, with a most conceited air, that its poet is the man of the age. Thus, we have a sect of believers who think Mr. Bryant the greatest American poet; another of those who declare Mr. Halleck the very man; others still claim this distinguished rank for Percival; *one man* thinks Cornelius Mathews has written the finest American poetry; and a very respectable party of over-zealous admirers give the precedence to Mr. Lowell. We have our own private opinion on this interesting question, which we shall not at present divulge. Now, this tone of talking and writing is essentially youthful and silly. It is worse; it does mischief to the subjects of such injudicious and measureless applause. It sets up false standards, and erects altars to a multiplicity of idols. It makes us appear to be a nation of very unwise and inexperienced boasters. Our exaggerated claims are necessarily laughed at by all whose views extend beyond the lines of "Little Pedlington" society. We are looked upon as a race of bragging boys, or but little better.

American literature is, in many respects, under very unfortunate influences. Many of our writers are men of imperfect knowledge, — men whose attainments in letters are, comparatively speaking, contemptible. Their range of thought is narrow, and their thoughts themselves are feeble. Their conceptions are indistinct; their imagery wan and faded; their expressions tame and commonplace, or tawdry and affected. The latter is quite as often the case as the former. This is the vice which has appeared within the last few years under a great variety of forms; and, of all the vices by which American literature has been attacked, it has struck the deepest and spread the widest. We all remember when Mr. Carlyle's whimsical peculiarities made their first appearance, and the effect they had at once upon the servile tribe. Mr. Carlyle is a man of genius, learning, and humane tendencies; his brilliant thoughts often break through the ragged clouds of his most absurd phraseology, and make us grieve, that an author capable of writing so well should write so execrably; should spoil the effect of his fine powers by the paltry folly of imitating so bad a model as Jean Paul Richter; an "original" writer who kept a commonplace book of odd expressions and far-fetched figures, which he embroidered on the ground of his natural style. The study of German became an epidemic about the time that Carlyle broke out;

the two disorders aggravated each other, and ran through all the stages incident to literary affectation, until they assumed their worst form and common sense breathed its last, as the "Orphic Sayings" came, — those most unmeaning and witless effusions — we cannot say of the brain, for the smallest modicum of brains would have rendered their appearance an impossibility, — but of mere intellectual inanity.

Thus Carlyle rejected his own early and manly English style, to imitate in English a bad German model. The American Carlyle tribe imagined they were doing a wise and brilliant thing, by imitating the second-hand absurdities of an imitator, mistaking these borrowed follies for great originalities, and forgetting that affectation is the deadliest poison to the growth of sound literature. Similar affectations have made their appearance at other times and in other nations. The Euphuists were not quite so ridiculous as the Transcendentalists; the metaphysical poets were men of learning and genius, highly admired in their day for the very vices which have sunk them into complete oblivion now. The followers of Gongora and the *Culturists*, in Spain, so exquisitely described in a few pungent sentences in "Gil Blas," — what do they seem but a deplorable set of dunces, through whose works the literary historian plods his weary way, thanking the gods when he has left them far behind! The Marinisti in Italy played the same fantastic part, and have met with the same inevitable destiny. In France, the Hôtel Rambouillet, in the great age, was the nucleus around which gathered a band of beautiful spirits, who were annihilated by the *Précieuses Ridicules* of Molière, before they had reached the measureless inanity in which our fantastic youth disport themselves. In all these cases, more learning and genius were expended — incomparably more — than have as yet been embodied in the school of American affectations. Yet, among the American Euphuists are several men of really fine genius and respectable acquirements, and some very amiable women, who would adorn society, if they would consent to be themselves, and to clear their heads of cant. But being possessed of the demon of affectation, they strive to set themselves apart from the common herd, imagine that they are inhabitants of a sublimated ether, and look down with pitying contempt on all who profess an inability to detect a meaning in their vapid and mystical jargon.

A great deal of our poetry is tainted with the imitation of the mannerisms, which have successively prevailed in England during the last quarter of a century. For a time, the Byronic tone was taken up and reëchoed, till the patience of the public was thoroughly exhausted. Then we had feeble and flat imitations of Mrs. Hemans, which have not yet entirely disappeared ; and now, feebler and flatter imitations of Alfred Tennyson wear out the forbearance of a long-suffering community. In Mr. Lowell's first volume, we thought we saw a tendency to this second-hand poetizing ; a disposition to mimic the jingle of a man, who, with much genius and an exquisite ear for musical rhythm, has also a Titanian fondness for quaint and dainty expressions, affected turns, and mawkishly effeminate sentiment ; and who would be the worst model, therefore, not only for a young poet to imitate, but even to read ; so contagious are the vices of his manner.

But the symptoms have, to a great degree, passed off, or Mr. Lowell has nearly outgrown the disease with which his literary childhood was threatened, if not actually assailed. We recognize in his later productions a firmer intellect, a wider range of thought, a bolder tone of expression, and a versification greatly improved. We feel that he is now becoming master of his fine powers, and an artist in the execution of his conceptions. The character of his more elaborate productions is, in general, noble and elevated, though tinged somewhat with the vague speculations which pass current in some circles for philosophy. There is a similar vagueness in the expression of religious feeling ; positive religious views, though not rejected, are kept far in the background. Many of the poems are devoted to the utterance of sentiments of humanity ; and here, though the feelings expressed are always amiable and tender, the youth and inexperience of the poet are clearly manifested. He is a dreamer, apparently, brooding over the wrongs which are endured in the present state of society, and rashly inferring that the existing institutions are bad, and should be overthrown. Such radical opinions are not perhaps directly uttered, but the general tone tends that way.

Now, it requires but little observation to see, that the present state of the world is produced by the operation of natural laws, working slowly and surely through the ages ; and that the present organization of society can

be changed for the better only by the same gradual process. Every expression of lofty feeling, every act of heroism, every discovery of science, every newly found source of wealth and physical well being, every poetical creation, are incessantly coöperating towards this remote result. It does no good, however, to say that all is going wrong, as things are now constituted ; and to stand apart, and cultivate peculiarities of opinion and isolation of feeling, while the great world is in full activity all around us, is worse than idle. It is the part of the manly intellect to take hold of the work, whatever it be, that lies before him ; and, cheerfully falling in with the modes of action, and the manners of his contemporaries, so far as those modes of action and those manners have nothing against which an enlightened conscience revolts, to work, in his great taskmaster's eye, with simplicity, courage, and truth. The individual mind, once possessed with the idea, that it is animated by a spirit which does not condescend to enlighten others, that it has loftier views of society, or a wider and more comprehensive philanthropy, than others, runs the great danger of mistaking the suggestions of vanity for the dictates of conscience ; of cultivating singularity for the sake of making the beholder wonder, and of procuring the gratification of self-conceit by being pointed out in the streets and public places. The feeling is very apt to be the same as that by which persons are almost always animated, who adopt a peculiar costume, and cultivate oddity of personal appearance. Feeble imitations and affectations, of the same general description, though differing in species, are to be seen on every side, — outward indications of the same vices which have emasculated so much both of the prose and poetry of our literature.

We think a little more reflection will convince Mr. Lowell, that, in the opinions and principles of conduct now prevailing, in the organization of society and the current manners of the world, there is much less to dissent from than he seems at present to imagine ; and that a few years more will see him wholly emancipated from those peculiarities of thought and feeling, whose tendency is towards isolation ; whose result is to enfeeble the active powers first, and then to bring down the poetical genius from its lofty heights, and bind it to the narrow circle of individual views, thoughts, and experiences. With his manly reach of mind, it is impossible that he

should dwell long among the unsubstantial dreams of radical reform. The real interests of men, strong characters unfolded under the pressure of actual conflicts with the difficulties of life, passions burning in hearts that have borne the brunt of sorrow and suffering, — these are the subjects that must expel a dreamy philosophy, an unsubstantial religion, and a vague and brooding passion for some Utopian state of society, which the world can never reach, except by the slow operation of general laws, through a long series of centuries, if it reach at all.

Mr. Lowell's poems want compression. In the words of Taylor, the *whey* needs pressing out. Redundancy, both of thought and expression, is the principal fault which we think the critical reader will be disposed to find with them. The subjects of many of his poems are drawn out to a wearisome length, by interweaving, not only the leading thoughts which belong to their proper treatment, but all the subordinate ideas and common-place moralities, which should be taken for granted, as understood of themselves. To borrow an expression from the writers on metre, they abound in *logaædic endings*; — they are poetry terminating in prose. Sometimes, at the end of a fine poetical piece, a long moral application is appended, like the "improvements" in the old Puritanical sermons. Now, either the moral conclusion would naturally be drawn by the attentive reader, or else the telling of the story, or the wording of the parable, is deficient in point and clearness. But there is no such deficiency in any of Mr. Lowell's poetical effusions of this class. The "Prometheus" is an instance of injuring the effect of an otherwise noble poem by too great prolixity. The conception of this piece is not only beautiful, but sublime; it is a Christian reproduction of the old myth, and, in general, is treated not only with high poetical beauty, but with a dignified elevation of moral feeling; but Prometheus is not characteristically represented. His soliloquy runs too far into minute details and ornamented expression, as if he were a gentleman a great deal more at his ease than he really was under the circumstances. The Prometheus of Æschylus utters lofty and audacious thoughts, in language of Titanic vastness and energy. Shelley treated a part of the fable with great affluence of poetical imagery and a heaven-defying boldness of thought. Goethe handled it with admirable

force and brevity. Lowell's "Prometheus" is masterly, and sustained at a high point of elegance and calm beauty; but it is precisely this elegance and calm beauty which are out of keeping with the subject, considered with reference to the character and condition of the gigantic sufferer.

A good instance of the second fault, — that of the unnecessary enforcement of a moral application, — is in the delightfully written poem of "Rhœcus." All after the conclusion of the story, on page 125, were much better omitted; that is, something more than two pages of very well expressed, but quite uncalled for, moralizing. Striking out all that, and some lines at the beginning, the poem is nearly faultless, as our readers will have an opportunity, by and by, of seeing.

Of Mr. Lowell's poetical style in general, the present volume has given us a high opinion. Not that it is by any means free from defects; but it has the elements of a clear, vigorous, and pure form of expression. It shows the marks of a profound study of the English language, in the best authors; and though the influence of particular writers is at times perceptible, his style is generally formed from the substantial materials taken from the heart of the language. For the most part, the constructions are clear, and the order of the words is free from those inversions which disfigure so much of the overstrained poetical composition of this age. Sometimes, though rarely, we find a studied quaintness of turn, a finical expression, or an extravagant simile or metaphor. Again, we are offended by words absurdly compounded, or used in a distorted sense. The termination of the imperfect tense, or passive participle, in *ed* is too frequently made an independent syllable. But all of these faults might easily be avoided. To justify these remarks, we shall copy a few examples.

> "More *trembly* secret than Aurora's tear."

The meaning of this and of the following forced expression is too indistinct:

> "Tremble *from the divine abyss* to cheer it.

So in the following lines,

> "And what we win of earth's contentment slips
> From our forlorn embraces not too slowly,"

the epithet *forlorn* conveys no very precise idea.

The metaphorical language in these lines is incongruous.

> "A passing *shade of gall* would cloud his mien."
> "*Soothing her bitter fetters* as she can."

To the following we hardly know what epithet to apply.

> "Flooded, he seemed, with bright delicious pain,
> *As if a star had burst within his brain.*"

If he had written, *as if a bombshell had burst*, the expression would have been comparatively reasonable.

Again, what is "the starry energy of truth"? and what are the "days unruth"? "Wherewith it *wont* to soar;" *wont* is not now used as an imperfect tense, and to revive such an archaism is of questionable taste. "The weary *creep* of time"; as there is no such noun as *creep* in the English language, the expression is of course false.

Is there not a strange jumble of literal and figurative expression in this couplet?

> "Watching and waiting there with lovelorn breast,
> Around her *young dream's rudely scattered nest.*"

The meaning of "starlike" in the following connexion is not very obvious:

> "that mother's heart whose instinct true,
> *Starlike*, had battled down the triple gloom
> Of sorrow, love, and death."

In the song of "Rosaline," a poem of much beauty, this strange couplet occurs:

> "I waited *with a maddened grin*
> To hear that voice all *icy thin.*"

There is not the least necessity of using such a specimen of American manufacture as that which we have marked in the following line.

> "Through the *everydayness* of this work-day world."

We had marked many other examples of faulty expression, but it is unnecessary to copy more. They are all of that kind, which, though they mar the effect of the poems in which they occur, and should, therefore, be carefully avoided, are not inconsistent with the possession of all the essential attributes of a good poetical style. Mr. Lowell is in the right way to rid himself of them all.

We are now prepared to present our readers a few ex-

tracts from these poems, wherein the genius of Mr. Lowell has done itself justice, and which, in our judgment, will give him a high rank among the poets of America.

The first poem, "A Legend of Brittany," is written with great beauty and pathos; but we prefer to leave it to be read as a whole. "Prometheus" ought to be short enough to quote entire; but as it is not, we must give the conclusion only.

"Thou and all strength shall crumble, except Love,
By whom, and for whose glory, ye shall cease:
And, when thou art but a dim moaning heard
From out the pitiless glooms of Chaos, I
Shall be a power and a memory,
A name to fright all tyrants with, a light
Unsetting as the pole-star, a great voice
Heard in the breathless pauses of the fight
By truth and freedom ever waged with wrong,
Clear as a silver trumpet, to awake
Huge echoes that from age to age live on
In kindred spirits, giving them a sense
Of boundless power from boundless suffering wrung:
And many a glazing eye shall smile to see
The memory of my triumph, (for to meet
Wrong with endurance, and to overcome
The present with a heart that looks beyond,
Are triumph), like a prophet eagle, perch
Upon the sacred banner of the Right.
Evil springs up, and flowers, and bears no seed,
And feeds the green earth with its swift decay,
Leaving it richer for the growth of truth;
But Good, once put in action or in thought,
Like a strong oak, doth from its boughs shed down
The ripe germs of a forest. Thou, weak god,
Shalt fade and be forgotten! but this soul,
Fresh-living still in the serene abyss,
In every heaving shall partake, that grows
From heart to heart among the sons of men, —
As the ominous hum before the earthquake runs
Far through the Ægean from roused isle to isle, —
Foreboding wreck to palaces and shrines,
And mighty rents in many a cavernous error
That darkens the free light to man: — This heart,
Unscarred by thy grim vulture, as the truth
Grows but more lovely 'neath the beaks and claws

Of Harpies blind that fain would soil it, shall
In all the throbbing exultations share
That wait on freedom's triumphs, and in all
The glorious agonies of martyr-spirits, —
Sharp lightning-throes to split the jagged clouds
That veil the future, showing them the end, —
Pain's thorny crown for constancy and truth,
Girding the temples like a wreath of stars.
This is a thought, that, like the fabled laurel,
Makes my faith thunder-proof; and thy dread bolts
Fall on me like the silent flakes of snow
On the hoar brows of aged Caucasus;
But, O thought far more blissful, they can rend
This cloud of flesh, and make my soul a star!

"Unleash thy crouching thunders now, O Jove!
Free this high heart, which, a poor captive long,
Doth knock to be let forth, this heart which still,
In its invincible manhood, overtops
Thy puny godship, as this mountain doth
The pines that moss its roots. O, even now,
While from my peak of suffering I look down,
Beholding with a far-spread gush of hope
The sunrise of that Beauty, in whose face,
Shone all around with love, no man shall look
But straightway like a god he is uplift
Unto the throne long empty for his sake,
And clearly oft foreshadowed in wide dreams
By his free inward nature, which nor thou,
Nor any anarch after thee, can bind
From working its great doom, — now, now set free
This essence, not to die, but to become
Part of that awful Presence which doth haunt
The palaces of tyrants, to hunt off,
With its grim eyes and fearful whisperings
And hideous sense of utter loneliness,
All hope of safety, all desire of peace,
All but the loathed forefeeling of blank death, —
Part of that spirit which doth ever brood
In patient calm on the unpilfered nest
Of man's deep heart, till mighty thoughts grow fledged
To sail with darkening shadow o'er the world,
Filling with dread such souls as dare not trust
In the unfailing energy of Good,
Until they swoop, and their pale quarry make

Of some o'erbloated wrong, — that spirit which
Scatters great hopes in the seed field of man,
Like acorns among grain, to grow and be
A roof for freedom in all coming time!

"But no, this cannot be; for ages yet,
In solitude unbroken, shall I hear
The angry Caspian to the Euxine shout,
And Euxine answer with a muffled roar,
On either side storming the giant walls
Of Caucasus with leagues of climbing foam,
(Less, from my height, than flakes of downy snow,)
That draw back baffled but to hurl again,
Snatched up in wrath and horrible turmoil,
Mountain on mountain, as the Titans erst,
My brethren, scaling the high seat of Jove,
Heaved Pelion upon Ossa's shoulders broad,
In vain emprise. The moon will come and go
With her monotonous vicissitude;
Once beautiful, when I was free to walk
Among my fellows, and to interchange
The influence benign of loving eyes,
But now by aged use grown wearisome; —
False thought! most false! for how could I endure
These crawling centuries of lonely woe
Unshamed by weak complaining, but for thee,
Loneliest, save me, of all created things,
Mild-eyed Astarte, my best comforter,
With thy pale smile of sad benignity?

"Year after year will pass away and seem
To me, in mine eternal agony,
But as the shadows of dumb summer-clouds,
Which I have watched so often darkening o'er
The vast Sarmatian plain, league-wide at first,
But, with still swiftness, lessening on and on
Till cloud and shadow meet and mingle where
The gray horizon fades into the sky,
Far, far to northward. Yes, for ages yet
Must I lie here upon my altar huge,
A sacrifice for man. Sorrow will be,
As it hath been, his portion; endless doom,
While the immortal with the mortal linked
Dreams of its wings and pines for what it dreams,
With upward yearn unceasing Better so:

For wisdom is meek sorrow's patient child,
And empire over self, and all the deep
Strong charities that make men seem like gods;
And love, that makes them be gods, from her breasts
Sucks in the milk that makes mankind one blood.
Good never comes unmixed, or so it seems,
Having two faces, as some images
Are carved, of foolish gods; one face is ill;
But one heart lies beneath, and that is good,
As are all hearts, when we explore their depths.
Therefore, great heart, bear up! thou art but type
Of what all lofty spirits endure, that fain
Would win men back to strength and peace through love:
Each hath his lonely peak, and on each heart
Envy, or scorn, or hatred, tears lifelong
With vulture beak; yet the high soul is left;
And faith, which is but hope grown wise; and love;
And patience, which at last shall overcome."

We omit the beginning and the end of "Rhœcus," but give all that properly belong to the subject.

"A youth named Rhœcus, wandering in the wood,
Saw an old oak just trembling to its fall,
And, feeling pity of so fair a tree,
He propped its gray trunk with admiring care,
And with a thoughtless footstep loitered on.
But, as he turned, he heard a voice behind
That murmured 'Rhœcus!' 'T was as if the leaves,
Stirred by a passing breath, had murmured it,
And, while he paused bewildered, yet again
It murmured 'Rhœcus!' softer than a breeze.
He started and beheld with dizzy eyes
What seemed the substance of a happy dream
Stand there before him, spreading a warm glow
Within the green glooms of the shadowy oak.
It seemed a woman's shape, yet all too fair
To be a woman, and with eyes too meek
For any that were wont to mate with gods.
All naked like a goddess stood she there,
And like a goddess all too beautiful
To feel the guilt-born earthliness of shame.
'Rhœcus, I am the Dryad of this tree,'
Thus she began, dropping her low-toned words
Serene, and full, and clear, as drops of dew,
'And with it I am doomed to live and die;

The rain and sunshine are my caterers,
Nor have I other bliss than simple life;
Now ask me what thou wilt, that I can give,
And with a thankful joy it shall be thine.'

"Then Rhœcus, with a flutter at the heart,
Yet, by the prompting of such beauty, bold,
Answered: 'What is there that can satisfy
The endless craving of the soul but love?
Give me thy love, or but the hope of that
Which must be evermore my spirit's goal.'
After a little pause she said again,
But with a glimpse of sadness in her tone,
'I give it, Rhœcus, though a perilous gift;
An hour before the sunset meet me here.'
And straightway there was nothing he could see
But the green glooms beneath the shadowy oak,
And not a sound came to his straining ears
But the low trickling rustle of the leaves,
And far away upon an emerald slope
The falter of an idle shepherd's pipe.

"Now, in those days of simpleness and faith,
Men did not think that happy things were dreams
Because they overstepped the narrow bourne
Of likelihood, but reverently deemed
Nothing too wondrous or too beautiful
To be the guerdon of a daring heart.
So Rhœcus made no doubt that he was blest,
And all along unto the city's gate
Earth seemed to spring beneath him as he walked,
The clear, broad sky looked bluer than its wont,
And he could scarce believe he had not wings,
Such sunshine seemed to glitter through his veins
Instead of blood, so light he felt and strange.

"Young Rhœcus had a faithful heart enough,
But one that in the present dwelt too much,
And, taking with blithe welcome whatsoe'er
Chance gave of joy, was wholly bound in that,
Like the contented peasant of a vale,
Deemed it the world, and never looked beyond.
So, haply meeting in the afternoon
Some comrades who were playing at the dice,
He joined them and forgot all else beside.

" The dice were rattling at the merriest,
And Rhœcus, who had met but sorry luck,
Just laughed in triumph at a happy throw,
When through the room there hummed a yellow bee
That buzzed about his ear with down-dropped legs
As if to light. And Rhœcus laughed and said,
Feeling how red and flushed he was with loss,
'By Venus! does he take me for a rose?'
And brushed him off with rough, impatient hand.
But still the bee came back, and thrice again
Rhœcus did beat him off with growing wrath.
Then through the window flew the wounded bee,
And Rhœcus, tracking him with angry eyes,
Saw a sharp mountain-peak of Thessaly
Against the red disc of the setting sun, —
And instantly the blood sank from his heart,
As if its very walls had caved away.
Without a word he turned, and, rushing forth,
Ran madly through the city and the gate,
And o'er the plain, which now the wood's long shade,
By the low sun thrown forward broad and dim,
Darkened wellnigh unto the city's wall.

" Quite spent and out of breath he reached the tree,
And, listening fearfully, he heard once more
The low voice murmur 'Rhœcus!' close at hand:
Whereat he looked around him, but could see
Nought but the deepening glooms beneath the oak.
Then sighed the voice, 'O, Rhœcus! nevermore
Shalt thou behold me or by day or night,
Me, who would fain have blest thee with a love
More ripe and bounteous than ever yet
Filled up with nectar any mortal heart:
But thou didst scorn my humble messenger,
And sent'st him back to me with bruised wings.
We spirits only show to gentle eyes,
We ever ask an undivided love,
And he who scorns the least of Nature's works
Is thenceforth exiled and shut out from all.
Farewell! for thou canst never see me more.'

" Then Rhœcus beat his breast, and groaned aloud,
And cried, 'Be pitiful! forgive me yet
This once, and I shall never need it more!'
'Alas!' the voice returned, ''t is thou art blind,

Not I unmerciful ; I can forgive,
But have no skill to heal thy spirit's eyes ;
Only the soul hath power o'er itself.'
With that again there murmured ' Nevermore ! '
And Rhœcus after heard no other sound,
Except the rattling of the oak's crisp leaves,
Like the long surf upon a distant shore,
Raking the sea-worn pebbles up and down.
The night had gathered round him : o'er the plain
The city sparkled with its thousand lights,
And sounds of revel fell upon his ear
Harshly and like a curse ; above, the sky,
With all its bright sublimity of stars,
Deepened, and on his forehead smote the breeze :
Beauty was all around him and delight,
But from that eve he was alone on earth."

" A Glance behind the Curtain " is excellent in parts, but is a terribly protracted glance.

The " Chippewa Legend " is very good, except the *improvement*, which has no other fault but that of being unnecessary. One cant expression in the poem should be blotted out in the next edition ; " Old lies and shams." The affected writers have repeated the word *sham* so often, that no respectable author can use it safely for the next hundred years.

We have no great fondness for sentimentality in type. Much of this in the present volume would have been better omitted. *Subjective* feelings, to use the jargon of philosophical criticism, should be but rarely and reservedly expressed in books. The sonnets are the least successful pieces ; especially those addressed to Wordsworth, which, so far as they have any meaning at all, have an assuming one.

We close our extracts with the fine poem called " The Heritage."

" The rich man's son inherits lands,
And piles of brick, and stone, and gold,
And he inherits soft, white hands,
And tender flesh that fears the cold,
Nor dares to wear a garment old ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
One scarce would wish to hold in fee.

" The rich man's son inherits cares ;
The bank may break, the factory burn,
A breath may burst his bubble shares,

And soft, white hands could hardly earn
A living that would serve his turn;
A heritage, it seems to me,
One scarce would wish to hold in fee.

"The rich man's son inherits wants,
His stomach craves for dainty fare;
With sated heart, he hears the pants
Of toiling hinds with brown arms bare,
And wearies in his easychair;
A heritage, it seems to me,
One scarce would wish to hold in fee.

"What doth the poor man's son inherit?
Stout muscles and a sinewy heart,
A hardy frame, a hardier spirit;
King of two hands, he does his part
In every useful toil and art;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

"What doth the poor man's son inherit?
Wishes o'erjoyed with humble things,
A rank adjudged by toilwon merit,
Content that from employment springs,
A heart that in his labor sings;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

"What doth the poor man's son inherit?
A patience learned of being poor,
Courage, if sorrow come, to bear it,
A fellow-feeling that is sure
To make the outcast bless his door;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

"O, rich man's son! there is a toil,
That with all others level stands;
Large charity doth never soil,
But only whiten, soft, white hands, —
This is the best crop from thy lands;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being rich to hold in fee.

"O, poor man's son! scorn not thy state;
There is worse weariness than thine,
In merely being rich and great;

Toil only gives the soul to shine,
And makes rest fragrant and benign;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being poor to hold in fee.

"Both, heirs to some six feet of sod,
Are equal in the earth at last;
Both, children of the same dear God,
Prove title to your heirship vast
By record of a well-filled past;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Well worth a life to hold in fee."

We have endeavoured to do justice to the merits of this young and gifted poet, while we have pointed out, with perfect candor, the faults that still inhere in his poetical manner, and the dangerous influences to which his poetical genius is exposed. That he will soar above the spirit of *coteries*; that he will reject the bad taste of cultivating singularities in thought and expression, and descend from the clouds of vague philosophy and Utopian reforms; that he will brace his mind with strengthening knowledge in science, history, and social life; and that he will thus create a noble sphere for the exercise of his fine powers, and give additional lustre to a name already crowned with the honors of professional, literary, and mercantile eminence; is what we not only hope, but, in the faith of achievements already performed, confidently predict and believe.

Art. III. — *Report of the Land Agent of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, laid before the Legislature, January 10th*, 1844. By George W. Coffin. 8vo. pp. 12.

In a former number of this Journal,* we devoted some attention to the forest trees of America, and took a passing notice of the lumberer;† we propose, now, to give a brief

* *N. A. Review*, Number XCV.

† The necessity of introducing new words into a language grows out of the changes effected from time to time in the circumstances and pursuits of men. The use of the word *lumber* and its derivatives is peculiar to this

historical account of the forest lands of Maine, and to make a remark or two upon the timber trade of the United States generally.

Whoever is familiar with the narratives of the early voyagers to New England, will not need to be reminded of their glowing descriptions of the forests which everywhere encompassed their steps in this country. Gosnold was the first Englishman who came directly across the ocean to New England, and in the several records of his adventures on our "stern and rock-bound coast," where "the woods against a stormy sky, Their giant branches tossed," we are struck with the apt and pithy words that are used to express his admiration of the hills and meadows hedged round with stately groves. Thus, the country is "full of goodly woods," say Archer and Brereton, in their accounts of Gosnold's voyage; while in the tracts appended to Brereton, it is declared, that the trees will afford "tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine, and soap-ashes, and will make masts for the greatest ships of the world," and "excellent timber of cedar, and boards for curious building." So, too, says the chronicler, there are kinds of wood fit "to be turned into small boxes for ladies and gentlemen." Waymouth, who came to New England in 1605, three years after Gosnold, saw "trees very great and tall," and the fir, "out of which issueth turpentine in so marvellous plenty, and so sweet, as our chirurgeon and others affirmed they never saw so good in England." Smith, the father of Virginia, who followed nine years after Waymouth, declares, that between Penobscot and Cape Cod, there were "more than two hundred isles, overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of wood;" that from Penobscot to Sagadahock,* were mountains and huge rocks covered "with all sorts of excellent

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continent; but the peculiarities of the articles of trade and of the occupations which they denote are so marked, and the use of them is now so general here, that it would be a proof of affectation and folly, and an injury to the perspicuity of discourse, scrupulously to avoid and reject them. The "forester" or "woodman" of England is a very different person from the "lumberer" of Maine, and the latter ought, therefore, to possess a distinctive title. "Timber" is here applied only to the trunks of trees, and the beams and large joists which are formed from them; while "lumber" is the generic term, including not only all the kinds of timber, but the boards, shingles, clapboards, and other articles of trade manufactured from it.

* The Kennebec.

materials for building houses, boats, barques or ships," and immense trees to make "pitch, tar, masts, and yards," and "such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich as may well recompense thy daily labor with a captain's pay."

The opinions of Christopher Levett, who built for himself a habitation in Maine in 1623 or 1624, who had been the king's wood-ward or forest officer for Somersetshire, and who, of course, looked upon the trees of "Aquamenticus," "Cape Porpas," and "Cape Manwagan," with a professional eye, are entitled to more consideration than those of any person who had preceded him in visiting the New World. We learn, that he landed at the Isles of Shoals, where — and at the moment of his arrival — he almost contemptuously remarks, that he did not "see one good timber tree." Proceeding easterly, it seems that his ideas of the country were formed with surprising accuracy, when it is considered, that he could not have penetrated far into the unbroken wilderness, but must have confined his explorations, principally, to the sea-coasts and the shores of the rivers. "I dare be bold to say," he reports to Buckingham, Surrey, and the other noblemen under whose commission he acted, "there may be ships as convenient there as in any place in the world, where I have been, and better cheap. As for crooked timber, and all other sorts whatsoever can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better. Masts and yards of all sizes, there be also trees growing, whereof pitch, and tar is made;" and again, that "there is also much excellent timber for joiners and coopers; howsoever a worthy nobleman hath been abused, who sent over some to make pipe-staves; who, either for want of skill or industry, did no good. Yet I dare say no place in England can afford better timber for pipe-staves, than four several places which I have seen in that country."

Levett's general views of Maine, to which part of the country his observations in America were entirely confined, are, in the main, so accurate, that we cannot forbear annexing them to the quotations already made. They occur in his "Directions for all private persons that intend to go into New England to plant."

"That is a country," he quaintly says, "where none can live except he either labor himself, or be able to keep others to

labor for him. If a man have a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loiterers, he have one worker; which if he have, he may make a shift to live, and not starve. *If a man have but as many good laborers as loiterers, he shall live much better there than in any place I know.* If *all* be laborers, and no children, then let him not fear, but to do more good there in seven years than in England in twenty. Let as many plant (settle) together as may be, for you will find that very comfortable, profitable, and secure."

To the settlers who are now wending their way to the Aroostook, part of this compendious advice will be as useful as was the whole to those to whom it was addressed, more than two centuries ago. The territory of Maine has not had a good name; but surely, that cannot be a bad soil from which to obtain subsistence, that will allow of one "loiterer" to every "laborer"; and we may tell such as persist in their reproachful talk, as Levett told the cavillers of his day, "let wisdom judge; for my desire is, that the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the ass be rid, and the knave punished either for discouraging or encouraging too much, whosoever he be." Her "coast be rocky, and thus affrightable," said Smith; "but there is no kingdom," he justly added, "so fertile that hath not some part barren."

The forests which drew forth the high praises that are here quoted, have been the source of much dispute and litigation. Though the questions of grants and titles occupy hundreds of pages of documentary history and court records, we shall endeavour to convey to our readers, in a short space, some of their most important results and conclusions. Of the immense domains, embracing almost the half of our continent, which, in 1620, King James conferred upon those gentlemen of his court who, in popular language, are known as the "Council of Plymouth," Maine formed a part. Among the most distinguished members of this Council was Sir Ferdinando Gorges; to whom, and to John Mason, the Council, two years after the date of their own patent, conveyed all the lands and "fishings" between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahoc. Subsequently, and rapidly, other grants covered the same soil, and angry and endless contentions followed. But Gorges, bent on leaving his name in our annals, obtained of Charles the First a grant for himself, individually, of the territory be-

tween the Piscataqua and Sagadahock, and thence from the sea one hundred and twenty miles northward. These were the ancient limits of the "Province of Maine." Having now a sort of double title, Gorges might reasonably hope, that his rights were perfect, and that he might pursue his plans without interruption. But Massachusetts, on the one hand, insisted that her boundaries were narrowed by the grants to Mason and himself; while the Council, on the other, with inexcusable carelessness or dishonesty, continued to alienate the very soil which he held both from themselves and their common master. Thus he was harassed his life long, and went to his grave old and worn out with perplexities and the political sufferings and losses of a most troubled period. He was a soldier, and the tried friend of the Stuarts in their times of need — of which their reigns were full — and was plundered and imprisoned in their wars. He set his hopes of princely power and fortune on enterprises for the colonization of America, and as "Lord Palatine" of Maine, wasted many of his best years and a vast sum in endeavours for its settlement; but not one of his purposes was accomplished either for himself or his lineage. After his death, his son deemed his possessions in Maine of little or no worth, and took no pains to retain them, or to carry out his designs; and his grandson, to whom his right descended, gave to Massachusetts a full assignment and release for the insignificant consideration of twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling; a sum less than one sixteenth of the amount which had been actually expended.

By the purchase from Ferdinando Gorges the younger, Massachusetts acquired only a part of Maine, as now constituted. France made pretensions to all the part lying east of the Penobscot, and the Duke of York to the part between the Penobscot and the Kennebec; nor was it until the reign of William and Mary, that disputes about boundaries were merged, and the St. Croix and Piscataqua became the acknowledged charter frontiers.

As already observed, the Council of Plymouth had trespassed upon the rights of Gorges, their own oldest grantee; and to ascertain and quiet the pretensions of the subsequent grantees, their heirs, and the claimants under them, was a task which Massachusetts could not shun, but which

she could hardly perform. Ruinous suits ensued, and titles to persons in possession, adverse to the claims of Massachusetts, were at length established for about two millions of acres. The principal grants thus held to be valid in themselves, or to which claims were relinquished, were as follows ;* That to Richard Vines and Thomas Oldham, of a tract on the west side of the Saco, from the sea eight miles up the river, and four miles wide ;† that of a tract of similar extent to Thomas Lewis and another person, on the east side of the same river ;‡ that to Thomas Cammock, of five thousand acres at Black Point ;§ that to John Dy, John Smith, and others, of a tract running from Cape Porpoise forty miles east, and forty miles into the country ;‖ that to the Plymouth Pilgrims, of fifteen miles on both sides of the Kennebec, without definite limits north and south ;¶ that to Beauchamp and Leverett, of about thirty miles square on the west side of Penobscot River and Bay ;** and that to Robert Alsworth and Giles Elbridge, of twelve thousand acres, and a hundred acres additional to each of the settlers whom they procured, at and in the vicinity of "ancient Pemaquid."††

Besides the soil held under the Council's grants, the title to more than half a million of acres rests on Indian deeds. Of these titles, the oldest is that to Humphrey Chadbourne, of a considerable part of South Berwick, and that to one Boughton, of a part of Kittery. Of another part of the last named town, there was also a later conveyance to Thomas Spencer. On the Saco, two tracts depended on native covenants with Walter Philips, and four miles square within the limits of Lyman were alienated to Bush and Tarbell.

* It should be remarked, that in the grants here named, embracing, by a tolerably accurate calculation, 1,965,000 acres, some Indian titles which bordered on, or were intermixed with, those granted by the Council are included ; as are some others, that were given to claimants to make up ascertained or allowed deficiencies in these grants.

† Biddeford. ‡ Saco. § In Scarborough.

‖ The "Province of Lygonia." This grant is in the towns of Falmouth, Westbrook, Cape Elizabeth, Kennebunk-Port, and the city of Portland.

¶ It was finally determined that Topsham and Woolwich should be regarded as south of the south line, and what are now Anson and Madison should be considered north of the north line.

** The "Waldo Patent." This tract passed into the hands of General Waldo, and a considerable part of it descended to General Knox, whose wife was the granddaughter of Waldo.

†† Parts of Bristol, Newcastle, and Nobleborough.

Under deeds from the same unquestionable proprietors, Francis Small acquired lands between the Great and Little Ossipee, and Small and Nicholas Shapleigh a part of Shapleigh. The most celebrated of all, however, is the "Pegypscot purchase," on the Androscoggin, the limits of which were as indefinite as they well could be; from their vagueness grew contests which endured many years.* On the Kennebec, and along the sea-coast to Damariscotta, are still other lands which depend on Indian title, but each tract is small, and the aggregate is inconsiderable.

Of the French grants, which were many and extensive, covering much of the country between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, only one has been recognized, and that was considered valid more as a matter of favor than of right. It was confirmed by an act of Massachusetts, releasing about sixty thousand acres to the descendant of De la Motte Cadillac; being all that remained unsold of a patent of Louis the Fourteenth, in 1691, to the ancestor of the claimant.† Within this last foothold of France, this relic of the proud Cadillac's seigniory, is the grave of Father du Thut, herald of the pious Madame de Guercheville in spreading the Catholic faith, and the first victim of the long and bloody strife between France and England for the mastery of the Western hemisphere. Here, too, Winthrop and his associates first gazed upon the shores which they came to people; and the "Mount Marsel," which showed America to them, is yet a land-mark of voyagers to and from the home of their fathers.

On acquiring Maine, as it was in 1677, the date of Gorges's quitclaim, Massachusetts gave its inhabitants privileges which hardly differed from those possessed by its own people; and not the least important of these, in their estimation, was that which exempted from rents and exactions of all sorts, save assessments for defence, all the lands which they had obtained of Gorges, of Massachusetts herself, and of their respective agents; and also, all the streams and mill-

* The towns of Brunswick, Topsham, and Harpswell are within the lines which Hutchinson and others claimed (under the original grantee), in 1715, when they petitioned to have their title confirmed and these townships created. They purchased the year before, of an insolvent estate, for £ 100.

† Embraced in these 60,000 acres, are the whole of Trenton, a part of Sullivan, Ellsworth, Hancock, Eden, and Mount Desert, and the islands in front of them out to the main sea.

sites that might be granted thereafter. The fears of the lumberers, at the time of which we are speaking, lest, in changing their political connexion, they should lose a part of their prescriptive or legal rights to the forest, may be seen, as well from this stipulation, as from the fact, that on the union of New Hampshire with the mother of New England, some forty years before, it was made a condition, that their former and accustomed liberty of selling timber should not be restricted.

This meagre outline of the controversies consequent upon carelessly drawn grants and deeds must suffice. But we cannot leave this part of our subject without commending the indomitable spirit evinced by Massachusetts in her struggles to root Gorges and the Cavaliers of his planting out of Maine, and to put in their place the humbler but purer Roundheads of her own kindred. Had she faltered, when dukes and lords signed parchments that conveyed away her soil; had she not sought to push her sovereignty over men and territories not originally her own; had she not broken down French seigniories and English feoffdoms,—Maine, east of Gorges's eastern boundary, might have continued a part of the British empire to this hour. This opinion is given considerately, and not to round out a period. And whoever will consult the diplomacy of 1783, will learn that, *even as it was*, the British Commissioners contended for *that* boundary to divide the thirteen States from the Colonies which had remained true to the crown.

Soon after the purchase of Maine, Massachusetts lost her own charter; and it was not among the least of the causes of Charles's anger against her, that she had bargained with Gorges's heir, and thwarted his design of procuring Maine for his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. It throws light upon the feelings and transactions of the times, to mention here, that among the measures devised to keep back the threatened *quo warranto*, it was proposed to send the monarch "*two large masts aboard Capt. Peirce, thirty-four yards long, and the one thirty-six, and the other thirty-seven, inches diameter.*"

The new charter, procured of William and Mary, confirmed Massachusetts in her acquisitions east of the Piscataqua; but it contained several restrictions which bore hard upon the interests under consideration. The most promi-

nent we shall briefly notice. And first, that instrument provided, that all pine trees, of the diameter of twenty-four inches at more than a foot from the ground, on lands not granted to private persons, should be reserved for masts for the royal navy ; and that, for cutting down any such tree without special leave, the offender should forfeit one hundred pounds sterling. This stipulation was the source of ceaseless disquiet, and it introduced, to guard the forests from depredation, an officer called the "Surveyor General of the King's woods." Between this functionary, who enjoyed a high salary, considerable perquisites, and great power, and the lumberers, there was no love. The officials of the day, who were now of royal appointment, and not, as under the old charter, elected by the people, generally ranged themselves on the side of the surveyors ; while the House, as commonly, opposed their doings, and countenanced the popular clamors against them. The first surveyor-general was John Bridges, or Bridger, who came with Lord Bellamont, in 1698 ; his jurisdiction embraced the King's woods in all New England. David Dunbar, a reduced colonel in the army, a man poor, proud, deeply in debt, and as rapacious as the fabled harpy, succeeded him in 1729. Dunbar was a scoundrel, and laid the foundation — wickedly, as we believe — of land quarrels in Maine, which lasted sixty years, and were hushed then only by legislative interference. He sold out his surveyorship to Governor Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire, in 1743, for £ 2000. Wentworth had been a large dealer in lumber, and was now ruined, from a timber contract with an agent of the government of Spain. His nephew, Governor John Wentworth, was appointed to his place and emoluments in 1767, and, with the pomp and show of the dignitaries of by-gone days, traversed the country, from South Carolina — where he landed on coming from England — to his own home in New Hampshire, recording his commission in every Colony through which he passed.

We hear little of the course of conduct pursued by the Wentworths, though it is said, that Benning neglected his duty, and suffered his deputies to be remiss in theirs, and to "waste the King's timber." But it stands charged upon Bridges, that he connived at trespasses, and took hush-money. Against Dunbar, it is alleged that, attended with

armed men, he turned lumberers from their homes, seized their timber, burned their buildings, and threatened them with imprisonment. His ways and airs provoked the rough men whom he watched and thwarted quite as much as the losses which he caused them ; and he seldom went to a saw-mill to place the "King's mark" upon boards suspected or known to be made of interdicted trees, without quarrelling with the mill-men. Sometimes, threats of extreme violence passed on both sides ; and, in the forest, the "*loggers*" gave him "*swamp-law*" as often as they dared, or as his officious zeal aggravated them beyond endurance. "Kill me ;" said Paul Gerrish, "but mark or touch that pile, and you die yourself, here, and instantly!" The craven Dunbar sneaked away. On another occasion, some lumberers, in the garb of Indians, stove the hull and cut and destroyed the sails and cordage of his boat, and beat his men most cruelly. Excitement ran high ; the Council was summoned, and a proclamation issued ; but the offenders so kept their secret, or had so many friends, that they were never discovered. We finish with Dunbar, by saying, that, in the early part of his career, the Governor of Massachusetts was solicited to remove him, though the act should require a military force.

As already remarked, the controversies introduced by the provision in the charter, intended to preserve spars for the royal navy, were not confined to the woods or the mills, but were carried to the halls of legislation, and even to the Board of Trade in England. There seemed, indeed, in the judgment of the Colonial governors, no way for them to please their royal master more, than by discoursing to the House of Representatives about the care they should exercise over "mast-trees," and about the severity with which the statute-book should provide against trespassers ; while the House, on the other hand, appeared to be best satisfied whenever they could manage to postpone, or get rid altogether of such unwelcome subjects. Prerogative and the popular sentiment never agreed. Discussions about forests again and again ended in wrangles. Friendships were broken up, and enmities created for life. This is emphatically true of Shute's administration, when Cooke, the Counsellor of Sagadahock, and the champion of the "fierce democracy," — as his father had been before him, — involved the whole government of the Colony in disputes, which, in the end, drove the Governor home to Eng-

land. And so, subsequently, a forged letter, probably written by trespassers or their friends, and transmitted to Sir Charles Wager, first lord of the Admiralty, charging Governor Belcher with conniving with trespassers, though seemingly aiding that "Irish dog of a Dunbar," did its intended work. Shirley, his successor, when he pressed upon the House the necessity of further enactments to protect the masts and spars for the royal navy, and to punish those who obstructed or annoyed the royal agents, was tartly told, in substance, by that body: "Our laws are sufficient; we have done our duty; let the crown officers do theirs." Hutchinson, for a like call upon the House, was in like manner reminded, in terms hardly more civil, that there were already charter and statute penalties for trespassers, a surveyor-general and deputies, and courts of law; and that, provided with these, he must look to the pines "twenty-four inches in diameter, upwards of twelve inches from the ground," for himself. The means for dealing with offenders, it must be confessed, were ample; the crown could try them in the Court of Admiralty, where there was no jury; upon conviction for a common trespass, a fine of £100 could be imposed; and for the additional misdeed of plundering the interdicted trees under a painted or disguised face, twenty lashes could be laid on the culprit's back; while, more than all, convictions could be had upon probable guilt, unless the accused would, on oath, declare his innocence.

But there was no such thing as enforcing laws, when it was the popular impression, that the woods were "the gifts as well as the growth of nature"; and that the king's claim to them was merely "nominal" at the most. The provision in the charter was unwise. To reserve to the crown a thousand times as many trees as it could ever require, and to allow all to decay that were not actually used, was absurd. A stipulation, that the wilderness should be under the care of the Colonial government, and that the government should furnish annually all the masts needed by the royal navy, would have been far better. But the charter, nevertheless, ought to have been respected, while the servants of the king maintained Colonial rights inviolate. As it was, we can easily imagine that the woodman, when rid, by the Revolution, of the presence of surveyor-generals and their deputies, exulted as heartily as did the peasant of France, when the outbreak

there abolished forest laws somewhat dissimilar, but equally obnoxious.

The troubles which we have enumerated, the disputes which grew out of the question, whether, as the territories purchased of Gorges had never reverted to the crown, the surveyor-general's duty did, in fact, require him to mark and protect the mast-trees within its limits, and especially the charter inhibition of grants east of the Kennebec without the king's consent, kept out settlers, held titles in suspense, and compelled most of the few occupants of the soil to earn their bread by getting and transporting lumber. As far down as 1719, no man of the Saxon race had a habitation from Georgetown to Annapolis. Fifteen years later, there were not more than nine thousand people of European origin between the Piscataqua and the St. Croix, and thence northerly to the dividing of the waters on the "highlands," where royalty last contended for the soil of Maine.. In truth, not a grant was made beyond the Penobscot before the year 1762; and Machias, though the oldest town on the French claim, was not alienated by Massachusetts before 1770, and had no corporate existence until after the close of the Revolution. In 1790, there were but three resident clergymen from the last named river to the frontier.

We have seen, that Massachusetts never owned the entire face of Maine, but on the contrary, while her jurisdiction was extended from time to time, till it embraced the whole area, her title to the property of the soil was cumbered with ancient grants, patents, and Indian deeds, to the amount of about two and a half millions of acres. Between the date of the charter of William and Mary and the peace of 1783, Massachusetts herself disposed of one and one third millions more; so that, when she broke her Colonial bonds, nearly four millions of acres were in other hands. The creation of a land-office and the making of surveys, to bring into market her now entirely unincumbered domains, were among the first uses which she made of her newly acquired sovereignty. In debt, poor, distressed even, from the losses and sacrifices of a struggle, which she did more than any of her sister Colonies to bring on, and as much as any to carry forward to a successful issue, she looked to these domains for partial relief. Purchasers, however, came forward but slowly; and, in 1786, fifty townships between the Penob-

scot and St. Croix were proposed to be sold by lottery. These townships were represented by twenty-seven hundred and twenty tickets, at £60 each, payable partly in specie, and partly in evidences of the public debt. The plan did not succeed as they hoped, and only four hundred and thirty-seven tickets were sold, producing hardly one fifth of the sum that had been anticipated. By the year 1795, twelve years after the peace, Massachusetts had parted with more than three and a half millions of acres, or one hundred and fifty townships ; but of this quantity, a great part was absorbed by liberal grants to quiet settlers, remunerate public services and sufferings, and endow literary institutions. The aggregate of sales and grants from 1783 to 1820, was a little more than five and a half millions of acres ; of these, one and one tenth millions had been conveyed without pecuniary consideration. The entire sum of money which found its way into the treasury, from the recognition of American independence to the creation of Maine into a State, — a period of thirty-five years, — was but $924,000. From that time to January of the present year, she received the additional amount of $972,000, or $1,896,000 in the whole. * At the separation, the quantity of land which remained ungranted and unsold, and which, by the terms of that event, was to be divided between the two States, appears, from the best *data* we can obtain, to have been full fourteen millions of acres.†

To discuss the policy which has been pursued by Maine and Massachusetts, since the period at which we have now arrived, would require a space which we cannot now afford.‡

* The statement for the first period is derived from statistics collected by the late Moses Greenleaf, Esq., and does not include interest on the notes given by purchasers who bought lands on credit. The amount of receipts from 1820 to 1844, we obtain from official sources.

† A Report of a Committee of the Legislature, in 1814, estimates a million more *then*. From 1814 to 1820, the aggregate of sales was not two hundred thousand acres, and the allowance of eight hundred thousand is sufficiently liberal.

‡ Since this was written, Mr. Coffin has kindly furnished us with the following synopsis of the operations of the Land Office of that State from 1820 to the close of 1843.

Number of acres of land sold since the separation of Maine from Massachusetts,	1,562,860
Number of acres granted to colleges, academies, and individuals,	510,546
Total number of acres alienated,	2,073,406

The subject might well form an article of itself. But before we proceed, we must record our dissent from the charge sometimes made, that the course of Massachusetts towards Maine, in the management of the lands, has been illiberal. Official documents disprove the imputation. Of the one and one tenth millions of acres given away, the colleges, academies, bridges, and sufferers of Maine received two thousand acres more than the half. In "An appeal to the people of Maine on the question of separation," a tract of some pretensions in its day, the selling of lands to "speculators," which, as the writer truly alleges, had been the practice, is reprobated; and a "liberal and enlightened" plan of procedure, which had "in vain been urged" upon the Commonwealth as then constituted, is shadowed forth. To this, we mourn while we reply, that the "speculators" in these *our* times, unlike those bred up in the past, left their accustomed walks in life and trusted their fortunes, and sometimes

Amount received for lands sold,		$ 965,853 18
" " timber sold,		103,671 48
" " commutation of duties,		11,213 98
		$ 1,080,738 64
Amount paid for surveys, explorations, &c.,	$ 38,871 58	
" " roads, clearing streams, &c,	51,359 25	
" " current expenses of Land office,	28,977 85	
	$ 119,208 68	
Deduct amount paid from treasury for warrants,	10,683 60	
		108,525 08
Balance, net, paid into the Treasury,		$ 972,213 56

Mr. Coffin gives a statement, also, of the average prices received for lands, from which it appears, that the average from January, 1785, to February, 1820, was 20½ cents per acre; from 1820 to 1826, 14½ cents; from 1827 to 1829, 44⅝ cents; and, for the subsequent years, as follows;

1831, ·30 cents.	1836, $ 2·09⅝.	1840, $ 1·52⅝.
1832, ·27⅞ "	1837, 0·74.	1841, 1·31½.
1833, ·58⅝ "	1838, 2·21.	1842, 1·62¾.
1834, .79½ "	1839, 2·21.	1843, 1·32¾,
1835, $ 2·12½.		

Of the variations in price, he remarks, that they are owing to "the fact of there being, in some years, a larger quantity of valuable lands sold, and other years of inferior" quality. Further, that from "the excessive demand for lands in 1835 and 1836, and during the sales down to 1840," the price "was augmented beyond their intrinsic value;" and that, since that period, "the sales have approached their true" worth.

their morals, on the throw for a township. And besides, speculations, though usually retarding settlements, are less pernicious at some periods than at others. Lands deemed unfit for culture, as were those of Maine, may be in the hands of any body with little harm, until the prevalent opinion of their value changes. Usher, whom Massachusetts employed to bargain with Gorges for a province, was a great land dealer on his own account; but he and all of his generation coveted pine trees, not the ground on which they grew. Coram — who, after his return to England, founded the Foundling Hospital of London — and his associates did, indeed, look to tillage; but their mad scheme was for a vast joint stock company, to raise enough of flax and hemp for all the royal navy.

Waldo exclaimed, "Here is my bound," and dropped dead on the site of a city.* The leaden plate that Pownall placed there to mark the spot, was buried in soil which men abandoned in search of farms on the Miami, years after the opening of the present century. Gardiner, a loyalist of our Revolution, whose hundred thousand acres on the Kennebec were confiscated and sold, but restored to his heirs, hardly knew, that men would ever buy and sell these acres for wheat fields and orchards. And when Bingham bought "the two millions," although men began to learn that they could live by the plough within the bounds of Gorges's patent, few would attempt cultivation east of it; and probably none foresaw, that the valley of the St. Croix was destined to produce the finest potatoes and other vegetable roots in the whole Union.

Narrow views existed elsewhere. When Macomb acquired more than three millions of acres in New York, for a price scarcely equal to seven cents the acre, his clamorous and disappointed opponents failed in the attempt to press through the legislature a resolution condemnatory of the sale. And why? These lands were scarcely thought of for husbandry, and Clinton's plan of bringing the waters of Lake Erie to the Hudson was ridiculed and scouted full twenty years afterwards. Nor is this all. Monarchies favor

* Within or opposite Bangor, then the hunting grounds of savages. The "Waldo Patent" perpetuates his name. He used the exact words quoted in the text, supposing that he stood on a limit of his grant. Governor Pownall and a considerable party of armed men were with him.

great landed estates ; the nearer we go back, therefore, to the era of colonial submission, the less should we wonder at the prevalence of large patent rights, or the desire for them. The greatest names in our history belong to men who sought to own or control large tracts of country ; and Franklin tasked his powers to the utmost to answer the minister who opposed a large grant on the Ohio.* Mason, Lee, and Mercer were men dear to Virginia, and Washington is dear to the world ; and they all stand in our annals connected, more or less, with immense land projects. We are to judge the great operations in land of the past by what existed in the past, rather than by the changed wants, circumstances, and opinions of the present times.

Although all the New England colonies derived wealth from their forests, none of them, we think, pursued the trade in lumber for the same ends, or with the same results, as Maine. In the one case, to cut off the trees was to open lands to husbandry ; but in the other, the "hewers of wood" continued in the same hopeless bondage to axes and saws, generation after generation, and almost from century to century. The fathers of Plymouth shipped off clapboards within three years of their coming. The first notorious pilferer in "the Massachusetts" was a lumber thief, and though he was not exactly hanged, he was doomed to give up all his estate to those whom he had plundered, to be whipped, to be bound to service for three years, and to be at the disposal of the court at the expiration of his bondage. Almost the first conflagration at Plymouth that we read of, was that of a house "made all of clap-boards." This branch of industry advanced so rapidly, that a trade was opened between the northern Colonies and the West Indies as early as 1641 ; and in a tract called "New England's First Fruits," published in London two years afterwards, "clapboards, hoops, pipe-staves, and masts" are enumerated among the staple commodities which "fetch money from other parts." But the forests in some parts of the country soon gave out ; and so much alarm was felt, and Plymouth Colony became so "straitened for building-timber," that within half a century after the landing, certain kinds of lumber were not al-

* Mr. Sparks thinks, that Franklin's reply to Lord Hillsborough "is one of the ablest efforts of his pen." *Franklin's Works*, Vol. IV. p. 233.

lowed to be exported, except conditionally. In New Hampshire, however, the trade in timber was prosecuted with great zeal, during a great part of the period which intervened between the first and last hours of submission to the crown. Taxes were paid in boards and staves, at certain rates ; and parcels of the different kinds of marketable wood, at one time, passed from man to man almost as currently as the king's coin, or the pine-tree shilling pieces of the old Commonwealth.

The action of parliament with regard to taxing lumber, admitting it free, or even encouraging its exportation by bounties, was eagerly watched. The mother country pursued all these courses at different times, and gave satisfaction, or created discontent, among the dealers in the article, as changes occurred in her policy ; just as she does now, with those Colonial possessions which yet remain to her. Boston was the great mart, and the centre to which the proceeds of all mercantile operations tended. Besides the extensive business done there in shipments of lumber to the West Indies and Europe, much timber was used for the building of vessels for sale in the ports of England. Thus, there were in Boston, at one time, no less than twenty-seven shipyards ; at one of which twelve vessels were built, and from all of which sixty were launched in a single year. The Colonial merchants of the days of which we are speaking, like those of the present Colonies, suffered immense losses on ships built and sent to England on their account ; such "remittances" selling at prices less than cost, by twenty, and even forty, *per cent.*, during the seasons of commercial depression, or an overstocked market.

The "mast ships" at the North, like the "tobacco ships" at the South, were the common, and oftentimes the only, means for crossing the ocean ; and royal governors and other high personages were occasionally compelled to embark in them. In these clumsy, ill-shapen vessels, also, went ladies and lovers to visit friends and see sights in that distant land, which some Americans yet call "home." Merchandise, fashions, and the last novel had a slow voyage back ; but men and maidens were models of patience, and the arrival of the eleven weeks "master" gave as much joy when all was safe, as does that of the eleven days steamer now. In port, while loading, the "mast ships were objects

of interest, and their decks and cabins the scenes of hilarity and mirth. We hear of illuminations, and firings of cannon, of frolics and feasts. They brought news of victories achieved by British arms, of some peace concluded, or some act repealed which bore hard upon Colonial industry, or hurt Colonial pride. When ready for sea, if enemies of the crown hovered on the coast, vessels of war were ready to give them safe convoy ; and the days of departures were seasons of excitement, busy preparation, and sad leave-taking.

The mast trade was confined to England ; and the transportation of spars thither, and of the sawed and shaved woods required by the planter, to islands in the West Indies possessed by the British crown, were about the only lawful modes of exporting lumber for a long period. By the statute book, the king's mark was as much to be dreaded by the mariner and the owner of the vessel, as by the "logger" and the "mill-man." But the revenue officers caused less fear than the surveyors of the woods, until fleets and armies were employed to aid them ; when the interdicted trade with the French and Spanish islands was nearly, if not entirely, broken up. No enactments of the mother country operated to keep down Northern industry so effectually, poorly as they were obeyed, as the navigation and trade laws ; and on none did they bear more severely than upon that portion of the people whose position or necessities left them no choice of employments. There were some — nor were they few — who were obliged to work up trees into marketable shapes, or starve. Included with these were the inhabitants of the coast, the mariners, and the fishermen. The interests of all these classes were identical ; and to them, the maritime policy of the government was cruel in the extreme ; since it robbed unremitting toil of half of its reward. Lumber and fish were inseparable companions in every adventure to the Caribbean sea. Enterprises to get either were hazardous, at the best ; and, as practical men can readily perceive, all who engaged in obtaining them were obliged then, as they are now, to seek different markets ; so that, to shut some marts, when access to all would barely remunerate the adventurers, was, in effect, to close the whole. These employments were among the most difficult and severe in the whole round of human pursuits ; and attempts to alleviate the burdens of

oppressive parliamentary legislation upon both were made in Massachusetts, long before a whisper of discontent was elsewhere uttered in America. To the discussions on the one, we have already attended ; a notice of the other does not come within our present purpose. These discussions had taken fast hold of the public mind, and when Otis at length spoke out, thousands, who never heard or read his reasonings, and might not have felt their force, if they had, were ready, at the first call, to clear the woods, and docks, and warehouses of the "swarms of officers" who "harassed" them, and "eat out their substance." England lost the affection of the North full a generation before she alienated the South. Free labor — inexcusable in this — began with sacking houses, overturning public offices, and emptying tar barrels and pillow cases upon the heads of its victims ; and when the skill and high intellect which were enlisted in its cause, and which vainly strove to moderate its excesses, failed to obtain a peaceable redress of the wrong, and were driven either to abandon the object, or to combine and wield the strength of those who were engaged in pursuing it, these men rallied upon the field, and embarked upon the sea, to retire from neither until the very frame-work of the Colonial system was torn away. To say, as some do, that points of "abstract liberty" severed the British empire, is to babble like modern politicians. "Abstractions," indeed! Which of the twenty-nine acts of parliament touched so much as the "southwest side of a hair" of an "abstraction"? These acts inhibited "labor." They forbade the use of water-falls, the erecting of machinery, of looms and spindles, and the working of wool and iron ; they set the king's arrow upon trees that rotted in the forest ; they shut out markets for boards and fish, and seized sugar and molasses, and the vessels in which these articles were carried ; and they defined the limitless ocean as but a narrow pathway to such of the lands that it embosoms, as wore the British flag. The revolution was created to release labor from these restrictions. And yet the favorers of "abstractions" ask — nay, insist — that labor shall resume its broken bonds !

Such are the opinions, at least, that we have formed on the questions upon which, among the mass of the people, the contest hinged ; which finally united persons of every avocation in life in an endeavour to get rid of prohibitions,

that remonstrance could not repeal, or even humanize. There are two or three incidents, which, as they illustrate the remarks just made, and belong to our subject, we cannot forbear to mention. They show, that, though almost too remote and scattered for union and concert, the woodmen were not laggards in the irregular strifes with which the war commenced.

A gentleman of Boston, whose wife and daughter were at Machias among their friends, obtained leave of Admiral Graves, soon after the affair at Lexington, to visit them, and also to carry such supplies as might be needed at that distant settlement, on condition of returning with his vessel to Boston, — then in possession of the royal troops, and deeply distressed for fuel, — with a load of wood and lumber. But he was to be accompanied by the British schooner *Margranetto*, armed with four light guns, and fourteen swivels, and under command of midshipman Moir, a kinsman of the Admiral. The passage was safely made, and the lumberers, after consultation, and in view of their necessities, agreed that the lading of articles promised for the King's troops might be permitted ; but the boldest among them determined, also, that the *Margranetto** should become their prize. Embarking in a coaster and a sloop, and arming themselves with such weapons as were within reach, among which were the tools of their calling, they proceeded on their perilous enterprise. A sharp conflict ensued ; Moir received a mortal wound, and about twenty others of both parties were killed or wounded. But success crowned the attempt ; the victors received the thanks of the Provincial Congress, and commissions to cruise and capture under their authority. This brilliant little affair gave much joy, and was, undoubtedly, " the Lexington of the seas," or first naval action, that occurred in the struggle for freedom.

In the autumn of the same year, Falmouth, the great mast and timber mart of Maine, was laid in ashes ; and, singularly enough, its destruction grew out of matters directly

* Cooper says " Margaretta." He relates the affair at some length, and though his account differs in some particulars from that derived from inhabitants of Machias, it may still be correct. He says of it, that it was " the first blow struck on the water, after the war of the American Revolution had actually commenced," — thus fully sustaining the remarks in the text ; indeed, the words " Lexington of the seas " are quoted from him.

connected with its chief business. Coulson,* a loyalist merchant there, having difficulties with the Whig authorities, about the rigging and fitting for sea a "mast ship" which he had built, applied to Mowatt, commander of the royal armed ship *Canceau*, for protection, which was afforded. Subsequently, he attempted to load his vessel; but the masts and timber, which he had procured for the purpose, were taken away, and towed to places to which he dared not go to recover them. Various other acts, interfering with his design, occurred in the course of the quarrel; and the result was, that Mowatt burned the dwellings, and most of the wharves and vessels, of that busy place. "Tell the people of Falmouth," said Admiral Graves to Philip Crandall, "that unless they allow Coulson to load, I will send a ship, or ships, and beat the town down about their ears." History will bear record that this infamous threat was fulfilled to the letter.† After observing, that the lumberers of Winslow, on the Kennebec, were Whigs almost to a man, and that, being destitute of money, they voted "one hundred and twenty-five thousand shingles, and ten thousand clapboards, to purchase a town stock of ammunition," we pass to another topic.

The region of the United States, where tar is produced and exported, is now very distant from New England; but its manufacture at the North was once an object of much attention. In the narratives of the early voyagers of whom we have spoken, it will be recollected, that trees, which afforded the substances now known in commerce as *naval-stores*, are mentioned as being abundant; and such was undoubtedly the fact. Abuses in the making of tar existed at Plymouth before 1670, as in that year the town voted, that none but townsmen, whose names were recorded, should

* Coulson himself, Pazan, another merchant, Wiswall, the Episcopal clergyman, and Pote and Wyer, ship-masters, who were his friends on this emergency, all abandoned the country, and are all named in the Massachusetts proscription act of 1778, which punished the first return of loyalist refugees with transportation, and the second with death.

† In the documents of the times, this affair is called "Thompson's war." Thompson belonged to Brunswick. He came to Falmouth with a party of about fifty men. They bore a small spruce tree for a standard, and each one wore a spruce bough in his hat. But for the injudicious movements of this party, whose badges marked their calling, Falmouth might not have been given to the flames.

be allowed to use its pines for the purpose ; and that persons who violated the vote should forfeit both the tar and the raw material in their possession. In New Hampshire, where, as it seems, a company attempted to confine the manufacture to themselves, and provided a large number of trees which were destroyed by unknown hands, pines suitable for tar were protected by law, and tar itself was received, at a stipulated price, in payment of taxes. The admixture of sand and other impurities caused an act of parliament, and a call upon the Colonial authorities to coöperate in putting an end to frauds. But the subject became so much involved with the controversies that already existed between the officers of the crown and the representatives of the people, that the dishonest makers were left to pursue their evil practices. The business gradually declined, and at length was entirely suspended. It is now almost wholly confined to North Carolina. Of the 619,000 barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine, and rosin, manufactured in the United States in 1840, upwards of 593,000 barrels were made in that State.

Some account of saw-mills may now claim our attention. The English gentleman who introduced the use of mahogany, by causing a candle-box to be made of it, gave the world a great luxury ; but he who invented the saw-mill performed an act far more serviceable. A mahogany tree, when in logs, has been sold for nearly fifteen thousand dollars ;* a pine, which will produce a hundredth part of that sum, in the most distant market, is of rare size and quality ; but to the mass of mankind, it is more valuable than the other, because it is, what that is not, a necessary of life. The sawing of trees by machinery is not, probably, of remote origin. The first saw-mill of which we have any knowledge was erected at Madeira, in the year 1420 ; and we hear of another at Breslau, seven years later ; but their multiplication in

* The highest price that we have known to be paid in this country, was at about the rate of five thousand dollars for a tree in log ; the one referred to in the text was purchased for £3000, in England, by a celebrated pianoforte manufacturer. Of the pine, a plank nearly six feet in width, made from a tree which grew on the estate of the Duke of Gordon, is preserved in that nobleman's castle as a curiosity. In Maine, pines six feet in diameter near the ground have sometimes been found, while those of four feet diameter are not uncommon.

different parts of Europe appears to have proceeded slowly. A mill of this description was built near London, in 1633; but it was demolished soon afterwards, that it might not be a means of depriving the poor of employment. About a century later, a branch of the York Building Company made large purchases of pine timber, erected mills, and introduced various improvements in the manufacture and transportation of lumber. But the popular feeling against machine-saws was still strong. A saw-mill set up at Limehouse, near the year 1768, was destroyed by a mob. The first built in New England — and very likely in America — was at "Agamentico,"* in Maine, in 1623, or the year following, under the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. "I sent over my son," says the Lord Palatine, "and my nephew, Capt. William Gorges, who had been my lieutenant in the fort of Plymouth, with some other craftsmen, for the building of houses and erecting of saw-mills." The next, probably, were on the Piscataqua, as the settlers there had one or more in motion as early as 1630; at which time, there were no grist-mills, and the lumberers procured their bread-stuffs prepared for baking, either from England or Virginia. The first mill in Massachusetts seems to have been that on the Neponset, in Dorchester, in 1633; but whether it was built for grinding or sawing cannot be ascertained. The earliest for sawing, in the colony of Plymouth, we suppose to have been on the Herring brook, Scituate, erected in 1656, and destroyed twenty years afterwards by the Indians. There was one on the Saco, as soon as the year 1653, and one on Mill river, Taunton, six years afterwards. By the year 1681, there was a second in Plymouth Colony, at Swansea; and in 1685, as many as four were in operation at Cape Porpoise, Maine. Of those in Maine at more recent dates, we may mention mills on the Androscoggin, at Brunswick, in 1716; at Damariscotta, under grants from the hated Dunbar, in 1730; a mill at Bucksport, on the Penobscot, in 1764; and several on the different branches of the Machias, before the capture of the *Margranetto*, in 1775.†

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* The ancient name of York.

† The *first* on the Machias was undoubtedly as early as 1763, and within a year after the first grant of land and mill-sites east of the Penobscot.

The curious terms annexed to "libertie" to make boards and planks by water power, in the olden time, are well worth a moment's attention. In the grant of the "townsmen of Saco" to Roger Spencer, it was stipulated, that he should build his mill within a year, that all the "townsmen should have bordes twelve pence in a hundred cheaper than any stranger," and that the townsmen who would "worke" in erecting the mill "as cheap as a stranger," should have the preference. In a subsequent grant to another person, much the same conditions are imposed, and the further one, that the grantee should buy his provisions of townsmen at "price current," rather than of others. The conditions required by the people of Scituate, in good "old Plymouth," we will give as they stand upon the record.

"At a full town meeting of the town of Scituate, November 10th, 1656, free liberty was this day granted to any man or men of the town to set up a saw-mill upon the third herring brook, as near the North River as conveniently it may be, on these conditions, namely. That in case any of the townsmen do bring any timber into the mill to be sawed, the owners of the mill shall saw it, whether it be for boards or plank, before they saw any of their own timber, and they are to have the one half for sawing of the other half. And in case any man of the town, that doth not bring any timber to the mill to be sawed, shall want any boards for his own particular use, the owner of the mill shall sell him boards for his own use, so many as he shall need, for the country pay, at three shillings and six pence an hundred inch sawn; but in case the men of the town do not supply the mill with timber to keep it at work, the owners of the mill shall have liberty to make use of any timber upon the common to saw for their benefit. The said saw-mill to be built within three months from this date; otherwise, this order to be void."

At Taunton, on the proposal to erect a mill there, liberty was given on the condition that it "be not found hurtful to the grist-mill." At Cape Porpoise, a town meeting gave the right to set up a saw, provided it was done "within sixteen months, unless prevented by war"; and the applicant furnished his townsmen with lumber for their own use, at "twelve pence the hundred under price current." Another person, at the same place, was required to pay "forty shillings rent as a

tax to support Fort Loyal, at Falmouth" ; and a third had his request granted, by paying "a yearly rent of fifty shillings," and allowing "the inhabitants to saw their own boards at the halves."

A word or two of some of the prominent mill owners of Maine, and we conclude our ante-revolutionary memoranda. Major William Phillips, of Boston, removed to the Saco about the year 1660, and became a speculator in timber lands, lumberer, and mill proprietor. John Alden — son of the *Mayflower* pilgrim of the same name, and of the arch Priscilla Mullen, whom Miles Standish desired for a wife — married his daughter, passed some time at Saco, and was interested in similar adventures. Another large land and mill owner on the same river was Sir William Pepperell, who commanded the expedition against Louisbourg, and was the only Baronet of New England birth during the whole of our Colonial history. His usual dress, we are told, was of scarlet cloth trimmed with gold lace ; those who are acquainted with the peculiarities of the rough men with whom his business required him to mingle, can easily fancy their queer sayings, at seeing one of as humble origin as themselves thus richly appareled.*

At the Damariscotta, was William Vaughan, a son of a lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and, as lieutenant-colonel, associated with Sir William in the enterprise just referred to, and one of the claimants of the honor of designing it. Vaughan's title to lands and mill-sites was derived from the surveyor-general, Dunbar. Vaughan was a bold projector, and brave, perhaps to rashness. He died in England, while urging his claims for services in the war of 1745.

We come now to a brief consideration of the productions of the forests of the United States at the present time. First, however, we will look for a moment at the official statistics of the year 1810. From these, it appears that there were in the States and Territories of the Union, at that time, 2,526 common saw-mills, which manufactured 93,974,640 feet of lumber, of the value of $1,068,205. But these returns, like many public documents since published, are not worth the cost of folding and stitching them. From these official "Tabular Statements of the several branches of

* Sir William's father was a fisherman.

American Manufactures," it would seem, that there were neither saw-mills nor a manufacture of lumber in what was then the District of Maine, and none in the States of New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut; whereas, all of them were engaged in the business, and some of them extensively. Of these 2,526 mills, 1,995 are returned as being in Pennsylvania; that is, that State had nearly four fifths of all that were in the United States. The number set down as being in Massachusetts is just 150; but the whole are returned as from Berkshire and Hampshire counties. Maine, at the separation, in 1820, we know, contained 746 mills for the cutting of lumber, and must have had full half that number in 1810; and, if Pennsylvania and two counties in Massachusetts really had the number stated, there must have been, we venture to estimate, at least 6,000 in the United States; and the value of the lumber was $3,000,000, instead of $1,000,000.

The number of saw-mills in the Union, in 1840, as appears from official sources, was 31,650, of which more than one sixth were in New England; and upwards of half in the States of New York, (6,356) Pennsylvania, (5,389) Ohio, (2,883) and Virginia, (1,987.) There were 1,381 in Maine, 1,252 in Massachusetts, 1081 in Vermont, 959 in New Hampshire, 673 in Connecticut, and 123 in Rhode Island. If we take counties, we shall find that, while the value of lumber manufactured in Penobscot was much the greatest, that county, in the number of mills, ranked considerably lower than several others. *

The value of lumber produced in all the States was $12,943,507, of three States afforded upwards of half; namely, New York, $3,891,302; Maine, $1,808,683; and Pennsylvania, $1,150,220. From this, it appears, that though Maine ranks fifth in the number of mills, she stands next to New York, and second in the Union, in point of manufacturing trees into the several marketable shapes. In the value of lumber produced, Delaware was lowest, the value having been but $5,562.

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* Thus:

County.	No. of Mills.	Value of Lumber.	County.	No. of Mills.	Value of Lumber.
Penobscot, Me.,	242	$668,701	Essex, N. Y.,	266	$443,242
Greene, Penn.,	670	value not stated.	Tioga, N. Y.,	259	289,563
Worcester, Mass.,	320	109,052	Oneida, N. Y.,	248	233,602
Steuben, N. Y.,	267	224,922			

The whole quantity of wood sold was 5,088,891 cords. Of this, New York sold about one fifth ; Virginia, nearly one twelfth ; New Jersey, one fifteenth ; the States of Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, about one eighteenth each ; and Maine, one twenty-fourth. *

Of lumber-yards, there were 1,793 ; of which, nearly one fourth were in New York, over one sixth in Pennsylvania ; one thirteenth in Massachusetts ; and almost one fifteenth in Louisiana, — or more than half in these four States. There were sixty-one in the city of New York, sixty in Philadelphia, thirty-four in Boston, and thirty-two in New Orleans.

Of productions of the forest other than those already named, there were manufactured 619,106 barrels of the different resinous substances known as *naval stores*, and 15,935 tons of pot and pearl ashes. Of skins and furs, the value was $ 1,065,869 ; and of ginseng and "non-enumerated" articles, $ 526,580. Of the sugar made from the maple tree, the exact number of pounds cannot, perhaps, be ascertained. The quantity of maple sugar manufactured in 1810, according to the official tables for that year, was 9,665,108 pounds. From the errors apparent in these tables, it is very probable, that the number of pounds returned fell short of what was really manufactured at that period ; and that the quantity was considerably more than doubled in thirty years is beyond doubt. That the whole demand in the country for sugar for its own consumption can be supplied from the maple is, we suppose, susceptible of the clearest proof. The season for making forest sugar is in February and March, when farmers are not specially busy ; when, indeed, the preparation of fencing stuff and fuel is usually their only employment ; and the amount earned in this way is almost to be called a clear gain to them. There need be no fear, that the article cannot be produced dry and white enough for the most fastidious eye and taste ; since it is known, that Washington made use of the refined maple sugar, during his presidency, even when he entertained foreign visitors ; and that large quantities of the common brown

* Our present terms of intercourse with the British Colonies operate injuriously upon Maine. We have seen it stated, for instance, that while only two cargoes of wood went from that State to Gloucester, Massachusetts, one hundred and fifteen cargoes went thither in British Colonial vessels. Such vessels, *we know*, supply other Northern ports to a considerable extent.

sort have been exhibited, within a few years, equal in grain, flavor, and other desirable qualities, to the imported sugars made from the cane.

The aggregate value of the different articles produced from the forest in 1840, if the market prices be affixed to those articles of which the quantities only are given, was thirty millions of dollars. That year, it will be admitted, was one of unusual depression, and cannot be taken as the basis for an average of years. And we are satisfied, moreover, that the official papers of that year do not make the value as great as it really was ; and that one sixth may be safely added. If, now, we add another sixth, to bring up the depression of 1840 to a standard year, we shall have, as the aggregate, forty millions of dollars, instead of thirty ; and this, we cannot but think, will still be somewhat too low.* The value of the exports from the forests, from 1830 to 1842, both years included, a period of thirteen years, was upwards of sixty-five and three quarters millions of dollars ; being an average of more than five millions annually. The smallest amount was in 1830, when it was short of four and a quarter millions ; and the greatest in 1841, when it reached six and a quarter millions.

Among the several ports for receiving and shipping lumber, Bangor is to be regarded, we think, as the most considerable in the Union. Well informed persons of that city estimate the amount which passed through the hands of its merchants, in 1843, at $ 2,000,000. With all deference to their opinions, we must still doubt, whether it was so much by a quarter of a million ; or, if it were, whether a million and a half of dollars be not the maximum, on an average of years. We should estimate the value of lumber manufactured in other parts of Maine as follows : Washington county, three quarters of a million ; Kennebec, half a million ;

* One or two facts will sustain this opinion. The value of the lumber produced in Penobscot county, in 1840, according to the returns, was short of $ 700,000. The writer saw, at Bangor, at one time, in 1843, 188 vessels, which, as it was estimated by good judges, would carry off 14,000,000 feet of lumber, worth $ 200,000, or more than two sevenths of the value returned for the whole year 1840. Again : lumber and other articles from the forest, of the value of $ 1,439,592, were left at West Troy, from the Erie and Lake Champlain Canals, in 1842, while the amount for 1843 was $ 2,964,061, or more than double. Like increase elsewhere would produce an aggregate far greater than we have estimated.

Somerset, Waldo, and York, one fifth of a million each; Hancock, Lincoln, and Cumberland, one tenth of a million each; and the remaining counties at one tenth of a million more;— making the entire sum for the State, two and three quarters millions of dollars. Although these estimates make up an amount nearly a million above the value according to the returns in 1840, we consider them not too high. But whatever the exact yearly havoc in her woods may be, Maine should take heed, lest the pine tree of her escutcheon do not become, like the same device on the first money coined by her parent State, an emblem of her departed, rather than of her present, glory and pride.

As yet, our facts and calculations apply exclusively to values derived from commodities sent to market. If we add the countless number of trees that, in the several States and Territories, are annually cut down, but not sold; which are used on farms for fires and fences; which are felled by settlers and burnt on the spot; which are torn up by tempests, and decay where they fall; and which are destroyed by accidental conflagrations, — we shall find, that an alarming demand is made upon our woods, and that the warning which closed the last paragraph is not without force, if extended to all the States of the Union. Indeed, we fear that, like the wronged men who were their original lords, native American forests, at no very distant day, will be but rarely seen.

The experience of the Old World is full of admonition, and should not be lost upon us. The mountains of Lebanon, to which Solomon sent his "fourscore thousand hewers," have been long stripped of their beautiful "cedars." The period is not very remote since pines were so abundant in Great Britain, that a woodman could procure the right to use a single axe in cutting them down, for less than one dollar a year; and, not two centuries and a half ago, wood was the common fuel in most parts of England. In Queen Elizabeth's time, it is said that Spain sent over a special ambassador, charged with the duty of procuring, by negotiation or treachery, the destruction of oak trees in the celebrated forest of Dean. However this may be, the oaks disappeared by improvidence during the civil wars. Within one hundred and fifty years, a considerable part of the elevated regions of the north of Ireland was covered with pines, of which hardly a vestige now remains. A forest set

apart for the royal navy contained, at the end of a century, only one tenth part of the timber which the officers in the care of it reported at its commencement ; nor was alarm felt, nor means taken to replant it, until the quantity was still less. In Europe generally, at the present time, it is believed that wood-lands are diminishing with great rapidity. It is supposed, that in Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, one third of the surface is still covered with forests of more or less value ; but the proportion in the other principal countries is not so large. In France, we have certain knowledge, that immense inroads are made on the woods from year to year, because she cuts from her forests not only timber, but nearly all her fuel. Of the Northern nations, it is necessary only to remark, that they are the makers of tar and providers of timber for England, and such other powers as have become importers of the articles once abundant at home.

That in America, — a country of stumps and newly cleared lands, — apprehensions should be expressed, as to our capability of furnishing ourselves with timber in all coming time, will excite a smile on the faces of many. Be it so. John Jay, a man as wise as the wisest, and as good as the best, thus wrote to Washington, more than fifty years ago. " There is some reason to apprehend that masts and ship-timber will, as cultivation advances, become scarce, unless some measures be taken to prevent their waste, or provide for the preservation of a sufficient fund of both." And this passage has the more weight, since it occurs in a letter devoted to the suggestion of measures necessary to be brought forward for the good of the country. The usual reasons for forcing timber into market are, that fires run through it, and that trespassers plunder it. We answer, that the man who would destroy his house that it might not be burned, or waste his money that it might not be stolen, would hardly be deemed wise.

We return to the woods of Maine, which yet remain her property and that of Massachusetts. The " mast-trees," which within three generations caused such heated contentions, are gone ; not one ever seen by a surveyor-general of the king now remains. The lower waters of every considerable river are abandoned. But the sound of the *logger's* axe can still be heard from the memorable " highlands di-

viding the waters." A century in the history of a nation is but a brief space, for it scarcely marks the extreme duration of human life. But he who visits the lands lying along the tributaries of the St. John, a hundred years hence, will probably see them despoiled of their wealth. That event will doubtless occur, sooner or later ; legislation can hasten, or retard it. That Maine ought to endeavour to postpone it, we fully believe ; the interests of Massachusetts may require another policy ; she will judge. The treaty of Washington has given rights and guaranties, which obviously demand some action on the part of both. That instrument opens a way to and from the *last great forest of New England* ; and whether the facilities it provides for transportation and finding a market should induce increased or diminished alienation of soil and timber, is a question which deserves the most profound consideration. Those who administer the affairs of Maine ought, as we venture to say, to reason thus : " *Our* lands are at home, and we can guard them ; they are of immense worth, let us manage them wisely, that something of what was inherited from our fathers may descend to our children ; the treaty which has given us free access to them can never expire ; the waters which flow from them will bear their pines to the sea ages hence as well as now ; the lapse of years will only add to their value ; the vast quantity of lumber now thrown into market does but overstock it, and rob our people of the rewards of their skill and labor. Let us then dispose of these our remaining wood-lands sparingly. As for our tillage lands, if need be, we will give free deeds of them to promote settlements, and to prevent our young men from becoming victims of agues and intermittents at the West."

In the Report of Mr. Coffin, named at the head of this article, the whole matter of the treaty at Washington, which pertains to our subject, is ably and clearly stated. We give the passage entire. That convention provides, that

" In order to promote the interests, and encourage the industry, of all the inhabitants of the countries watered by the river St. John and its tributaries — whether living within the State of Maine or the Province of New Brunswick, — it is agreed that where, by the provisions of the present treaty, the river St. John is declared to be the line of boundary, the navigation of said river shall be free and open to both parties, and shall in no

way be obstructed by either; that all the produce of the forest in logs, lumber, timber, boards, staves, or shingles, — or of agriculture, not being manufactured, or grown on any of those parts of the State of Maine watered by the river St. John or by its tributaries, of which fact reasonable evidence shall, if required, be produced, — shall have free access into and through the said river and its tributaries, having their source within the State of Maine, to and from the seaport at the mouth of the said river, either by boats, rafts, or other conveyance, that, when within the Province of New Brunswick, the said produce shall be dealt with as if it were the produce of said province, &c. &c.

"The largest portion of the territory on the upper St. John, or more properly speaking, the most valuable portion of said territory, is the joint property of this Commonwealth and the State of Maine, and in its present uncultivated situation the value principally consists in its growth and abundance of pine timber, which, according to the provision contained in the article of the treaty here recited, can be hauled and floated to the market at the city of St. John, and from thence can be shipped in British vessels to Europe or the West Indies. But as the freight on timber to foreign ports is of necessity very high on account of its bulk, no timber, except it be large and sound, can be shipped without great loss. Owing to this fact, the operators in the woods will not cut any but the largest, soundest, and best trees, if they can avoid it. In the course of the lumbering business, however, in consequence of hidden defects and other causes not easily obviated, a considerable amount of unsound and refuse timber must necessarily find its way to the city of St. John, and from the fact before stated, not being wanted, it is nearly worthless. So far therefore as regards the best quality of timber, the provisions of said treaty operates greatly to our advantage; but as regards the coarse, or defective and refuse qualities, it offers no inducement, as there is no market that will remunerate the operator for its removal, except it be admitted into the States free of duty. Under the existing tariff of the United States, lumber is subjected to a duty of twenty *per centum ad valorem*, which amounts to a prohibition of its being brought here.

"The value of that territory to the States of Maine and Massachusetts would be greatly enhanced, if the pine lumber from St. John river was admitted into our ports free of duty, — for in that case, a large amount of timber now standing in the forests of Maine could be removed to a valuable market, and would immediately increase the demand for timber and soil. The treasury of the United States can never be benefited by exacting a duty, as nothing of the lumber kind can afford to pay even

a small charge. It appears to me therefore, that the request would be reasonable, and no more than exact justice, that we should have a right secured to us of bringing our own produce from our own soil, without being subject to any exaction whatever, even if in its transit it necessarily passes through a foreign territory. It is true, if the timber is hewn in the State of Maine, and brought to our ports in that shape without alteration, no duties are required; but to bring lumber in that cumbersome form, would be more expensive than even the required duty. The grand falls on the St. John, and the falls at the mouth of the Aroostook river, both being within the limits of New Brunswick, the timber must of necessity be taken into the British province before it can be manufactured into boards, &c.

"I understand, that some individuals having an interest in that region are about to petition Congress, praying that pine lumber owned by American citizens, cut on American soil, and brought in American vessels, may be admitted free of duty. It seems to me the interest in this question to this Commonwealth and the State of Maine is of sufficient magnitude to induce some effort on our part for the accomplishment of the same object."

These remarks look to immediate and rapid sales, and indicate the means necessary for their accomplishment with the greatest profit. Mr. Coffin is an officer of so much experience and faithfulness, and his opinions are entitled to such respect, that we shall not attempt to show the injurious effect upon the Commonwealth of a speedy disposal of her property in the regions to which he here invites the attention of her legislature. That such a course on the part of Maine would be unwise, we have already briefly urged, and the point need be pressed no further. With regard, however, to the suggestion contained in the last paragraph here quoted, some knowledge of the course of business near the eastern frontier causes us to fear, that if this kind of timber were admitted into the United States on the terms proposed, there might be facilities for the introduction of timber from trees that actually grew in New Brunswick. Great strictness in investigating the proof of origin would, doubtless, check irregularities; but we are not quite satisfied, that the most rigid course which could be devised or enforced, would entirely prevent them. Timber which proves "unsound and refuse" is cut on both sides of the line, and as is the case with every other commodity, will be sent to the best market, when that market is accessible by statutory provis-

ions or ingenious devices. Nor would frauds be confined to the "coarse, or defective and refuse" kinds; since choice lots are sometimes, under a duty, brought to our ports for special purposes; and in the changes of trade, the merchantable timber, when the price is depressed in England, might be shipped to the United States to good advantage. Though it may be extremely difficult to ascertain the identity of timber and masts coming from the upper St. John to the sea, we would not discourage the attempt. We seek only to protect our own lumberers from their Colonial competitors. British Colonists interfere quite enough already with Northern industry; and before yielding them more, we would have full equivalents in hand, certain, and not contingent, realities, and not "boons."

We are now prepared to conduct our readers "out of the woods"; and in the spirit of the adage, we will endeavour to make them go smilingly. With a rapid sketch of the lumberer as he was, and as he is, we will conclude. It is of the man of work, and not of the great *operator*, of whom we speak; and between the two there is a wide difference. *Our* subject is known by various names. In the forest, he is a *logger;* on the stream, he is a *river-driver;* in the mill, he is a *sawyer* or *mill-man;* between the mill and the place of loading a vessel, he is a *raftsman;* and when on board ship, he is a *coaster*. Though he sometimes confines himself to one of these callings, he occasionally makes himself a proficient in all. But wherever found, he was often a wild, improvident, and thoughtless fellow. Within a few years, he has taken the "pledge," and now he saves his wages. You may see him now with a wife, a home, a farm, and a stock of cattle; or, if he has them not, they are all embraced in his plans, and all within his reach. He was an inveterate coveter of *shingle-rift* and mast-trees, and cared but little who owned them, if sharp eyes were not upon him. To the mortal hate he bore to the king's guardians of the woods, we have already alluded; and we may add, that it was a long time before he could forget, that land agents were their successors. Nor is trespassing a very grave offence in his estimation, even now; he will often plunder, just to show his adroitness in outwitting those who are set to watch him. As he wiles away a period of stormy weather in his camp, he will relate some wonderful exploits, which, in other

days, he devised or aided to execute. He had, too, a way of seeming honesty, which, to those who were inexperienced in his manœuvres, lulled all suspicion. When he cut the timber of another person under a permit, and engaged to pay the owner *stumpage* by the thousand feet, the *sealer* * was allowed to see the logs lying upon the ice in the stream, measured them, and went his way. Apparently all was right; but the *logger* had commenced hauling trees to the stream when the ice was thin, and, if rolled heavily from the bank, the logs would break through it; and he had continued this course until more timber was beneath the ice than above it. But who could impeach his integrity, since the proprietor's own *sealer* came to the *rolling-tier*,† and saw for himself, and took account, without let or hindrance? If the half of his logs were invisible, how could *he* help it? This was but one among many of his old devices.

He was wont to be a liberal provider for himself and those who went with him for a winter's work in the woods; but not always for those dependent upon him at home. "I will get my supplies now," said an old man to his merchant, some thirty years ago. "What will you have?" "Well, I hardly know; but as I shall come in by and by, I will only just take a few things to stand us a spell. We are but eight hands, all told, and don't need much. A barrel of rum, another of molasses, three barrels of pork, and six of flour, and that meal bag full of tea, with the corn I have already got for the oxen, will do to begin with." The tea was weighed and poured into "that meal bag," and, provided with all that he asked for, he departed; but, as may be supposed, people who ate and drank at this rate could find little time for chopping and hauling; and the merchant's books have not been balanced, we opine, to this day.

Nor, in other days, was he exact in business, or scrupulous in *log-marks*; so that the old saying, that "one gang of *loggers* and a saw-mill will support a lawyer," was not entirely destitute of truth. But as we have said, he is a changed man now, both in his deeds and dress. As for the latter, you may see him in the glazed hat, the upper and

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* Surveyor.

† Place at the stream-end of his road, which he prepares in order to get his logs from the land upon the ice.

lower oil-cloth garments, and "proper strong boots" of the fisherman; rather than in the linsey-woolsey of the family-loom and dye-pot, with cap and buskins of the same, which he wore in the olden time. His manners, his faults, and his vices show him to be a rough man. But he has ever been ready at the first tap of the drum to enlist in the service of his country. He went with Phips, who had been his companion in the woods; and with Pepperell, his own mill-owner. He was on the battle grounds of the Revolution, and the ploughman finds his bones at Plattsburg and Bridgewater.

As for the master of the *lumber-coaster*, he was once neither a landsman nor seaman; and his men had the same amphibious character. Twenty-five years ago, they sailed in almost any vessel, and on almost any terms. He dodged along shore, and had a rule to pass no harbour after meridian, and not to leave one until past twelve o'clock at night. He nailed a horse-shoe on his mainmast, and would look well to its safety whenever he was off Salem. The superscription of the village attorney could be seen upon letters addressed to him, in almost every tavern or store of the town where he lived. He took passengers at "nine shillings for going, and two and three-pence a day for grub"; and huddled them, male and female, into a cabin without state-rooms, partitions, or even curtains to the berths. His cook was a never washed, never combed boy, who wore his father's trousers and nobody's shoes; and was proud of the mysteries of making bread by mixing Indian meal with water, and stirring them up with a black iron spoon; of mincing fish with potatoes and warming them with pork fat; and of making, for a treat on Sunday, a salt meat soup. Those who paid "for going and for grub" were taxed a pint or a quart of "the West India," for every harbour new to them between the port of departure and destination, and were put under liberal contribution for the gallons that were now and then provided in order "to raise a fair wind."

But such men, such vessels, and such customs have well-nigh passed away. The coaster now owns a part of his vessel, and is frequently the ship's husband. He is a good navigator, and ventures out at sea with the boldest; makes passages as quick as the quickest; and instead of being a lounger about home in the winter months, as he was formerly, may be found "freighting" at the South, or making

voyages to foreign countries. He is seldom in debt. His house is well painted and carpeted, and every thing is comfortable and in good repair. His children are at academies or colleges, and he is a prudent, moral, and temperate man; and could we induce him to leave off whittling shingles, and the immoderate use of tobacco, he is so gentlemanly, that he might sometimes be mistaken for the captain of "a New York liner."

ART. IV.—1. *Various Papers on Meteorology, and the Laws of Storms*, by W. C. REDFIELD. American Journal of Science and Arts, Vols. XX, XXV, XXVIII, XXXI, XXXIII. Jamieson's Edinburgh Journal for February and April, 1838. Naval Magazine, Vol. I. English Nautical Magazine, 1839. Journal of the Franklin Institute, Vol. XIX. Blunt's Coast Pilot, 12th and 13th Editions.

2. *An Attempt to develope the Law of Storms by Means of Facts, arranged according to Place and Time, and hence to point out a Cause for the Variable Winds, with a View to practical Use in Navigation.* Illustrated by Charts and Wood Cuts. 2d Edition, with Additions. By LIEUT. COLONEL W. REID, C. B., F. R. S., (of the Royal Engineers.) London. 8vo.

3. *The Philosophy of Storms.* By JAMES P. ESPY, A. M., Member of the American Philosophical Society, and Corresponding Member of the National Institute, Washington. Boston: 1841. 8vo.

4. *On the Storm which was experienced throughout the United States about the 20th of December*, 1836. By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Western Reserve College. Philadelphia: Phil. Trans., Vol. VII., New Series.

ABOUT a century ago, Dr. Franklin made preparations to observe an eclipse of the moon at Philadelphia. The execution of his purpose was prevented by a storm from the north and east, which obscured the sky a short time before the moon passed into the earth's shadow. He learned after-

wards, to his surprise, that this eclipse had been seen at Boston ; and upon comparing the accounts from the other Colonies, he discovered, that our northeast storms obey a fixed law of progress ; that they are experienced first in the southwest, and advance towards the northeast.*

The study of this law has led to a series of discoveries in the science of meteorology of the highest value, whether regarded as contributions to knowledge, or as the basis of useful rules for the guidance of conduct ; from which the practical man may derive great advantage, and which the philosopher with honorable pride may number among those benefits which his patient investigations confer upon mankind. "*Tant est féconde la méditation d'une loi de la nature.*" These discoveries relate chiefly to the phenomena of storms, — of those dreadful hurricanes especially, which vent their first fury upon the fertile islands of the Caribbean sea, where they originate, and passing thence to the continent, strew the shores of the United States with the wrecks of our rich commerce. By a laborious collation and careful comparison of scattered records, our countryman, Mr. Redfield, obtained a knowledge of their principal features, and consummated his task by the discovery of the general fact, that these storms are comparatively isolated masses of air in a highly disturbed state, the particles of which revolve with such violence as to create the destroying winds called tempests, or hurricanes. Thus the Preacher, in illustrating the vanity of all human pursuits, uttered the language of a correct philosophy. "The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north ; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits."

The first suggestion, that a storm might be a great whirlwind, was made by Colonel James Capper, of the East India Company's service, in a work on the winds and monsoons of India, published in 1801. He points out the method of investigation since adopted by Mr. Redfield, to whom, however, Colonel Capper's book was entirely unknown. Indeed, this book seems to have attracted little notice before Mr. Redfield's discovery. About the time that the American philosopher was employed in his earlier

* This eclipse occurred on the 21st of October, 1743. See an "Attempt to fix the Date of Dr. Franklin's Observations in Relation to the North-East Storms of the Atlantic States," by A. D. Bache. *Franklin Journal* for November, 1833.

labors of observing and collecting the observations of others, a similar inquiry was in progress in Germany. On Christmas eve, 1821, after a long continuance of stormy weather, the barometer sank so low in Europe, that the attention of meteorologists was strongly drawn to the circumstance. M. Brande, having obtained the registers kept at this time in various places, came to the conclusion, that, during this storm, the winds blew from all points of the compass towards a central space, where the barometer was, for the moment, at its lowest stand. This conclusion was disputed by Professor Dove, of Berlin, who subjected the observations in the possession of Brande, as well as others, to a new examination, and made it appear, that an explanation of all the phenomena was afforded by the assumption of one or more great rotary currents, or whirlwinds, advancing from the southwest to the northeast.* Before this discussion was known in the United States, Mr. Redfield, by an independent course of investigation, had arrived at the result we have already announced, and his opinion is fortified by facts and cases so numerous and well authenticated, as fully to justify the distinction which Sir David Brewster has accorded to him in the following language. "The theory of rotary storms was first suggested by Colonel Capper ; but we must claim for Mr. Redfield the greater honor of having fully investigated the subject, and apparently established the theory upon an impregnable basis." †

An inquiry into the nature and operation of these mighty agents of destruction, the sweeping storms on the sea, or the ravaging tornadoes on the land, will prove not less an advantage to humanity than to science. To be able to foretell their approach, and to know their course and action, is to warn the farmer and mariner in time to guard against their effects. And science will be acknowledged to fulfil one of her highest aims, when she adds to those instructions which direct the course of the adventurous seaman over the ocean, the knowledge that will protect him against the rebellions violence of the tributary elements.

Mr. Redfield's researches have made us acquainted with the following general laws. The winds in a great storm, which were once supposed to travel in a direct path pointed

* *London and Edinburgh Journal of Science*, Nos. 67, 68.
† *Philosophical Magazine*, Vol. XVIII., 3d Series, p. 515.

out by the vane, do actually revolve about a vertical line or space, which may be regarded as the central axis of motion. Professor Leslie framed a theory accounting for the barometric fluctuations, according to which, the winds in hurricanes were presumed to move in a rectilinear direction, at the rate of one hundred or one hundred and twenty miles an hour. Mr. Redfield has shown, however, that a storm is no longer to be considered as the unequal disturbance of an extended stratum of the atmosphere, but as a vast whirlwind, or vortex, approaching to a cylindrical form, throughout which the motion of the air is rotary. It is not one wind, but a combination of winds from all quarters.

> "Una Eurusque, Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
> Africus."

These whirlwinds, or aërial vortices, have a progressive movement, that carries forward the whole body of the storm, apart from the internal motions, which cause its violence. This progressive movement depends upon the prevailing currents of the upper air, and varies from twelve to thirty miles an hour. Such, at least, is the rate of progress of those storms examined by Mr. Redfield. He is aware, however, that some storms appear to be local, and nearly stationary, whilst others move with greater rapidity.

The rotation of the air in the body of the storm is, on the north side of the equator, from the right to the left, or contrary to the movement of the hands of a watch; and, in southern latitudes, from the left to the right, or with the hands of a watch. Its violence increases towards the interior; but in the centre is a space where the winds seem to lose their force. This calm in the middle of a heavy storm is well known to seamen, as the forerunner of a dangerous and violent shift of wind. The barometrical changes first noticed by Mr. Redfield are remarkable, and serve to indicate to the observer the portion of the storm that he occupies. The arrival of the storm, as is well known, is preceded by a fall of the mercury. Mr. Redfield has found, that this fall increases as the storm passes over, up to the central space, where it attains its maximum; the barometer then begins to rise, and gradually mounts as the latter section of the storm recedes. These changes, which are proofs of a rotary and progressive movement, are very valuable to seamen, particularly in pointing out the central calm,

the deceitful character of which has, no doubt, caused the wreck of many vessels. The extent of the storm, or of the region over which its influence is felt, Mr. Redfield believes to vary from one hundred to five hundred miles. Those which originate in the tropics increase in diameter, and diminish in violence, as they proceed towards the poles ; and it is suggested by Colonel Reid, that the gales become huddled together as the meridians approach each other, and are so complicated in high latitudes by their rapid succession, that it is not easy, during the season of storms, to identify a particular one.

Mr. Redfield's attention was first called to the hurricanes of the West Indies, the fatal visitations of which are so well and mournfully recorded in the shipping lists.* Availing himself of the various sources of information, he was enabled to pursue the track of a storm from the place of its first appearance, to some point far to the east in the North Atlantic ocean, where its forces, like those of the Gulf Stream, were weakened by diffusion. The charts of the hurricanes show, that they take their rise in the vicinity of the Windward islands, and proceed in a northwesterly course, until they approach the continent of America, where, between the twenty-fifth and thirty-fifth degrees of latitude, they change their path to the north and east, inclining gradually to the east. Their course then becomes nearly parallel to the coast, and sometimes their influence is felt on the whole Atlantic shore, from Cape Florida to Halifax.

One of the hurricanes of August, 1830, has been traced by Mr. Redfield in its daily progress, by means of the journals and reports of voyagers, from near the Caribbee islands to the coast of Florida and the Carolinas, and thence to the banks of Newfoundland, a distance of more than three thousand miles, which was passed over by the storm in six days, at the rate of about twenty-one miles an hour. The duration of the most violent portion of this gale, at the different points over which it passed, was about twelve hours ; but its entire duration was, in some places, twice that period. The

* The West India hurricane season is reckoned from the 15th of July to the 15th of October. During this period, premiums of insurance, that are usually 2½ *per cent.*, rise to 4, and 6 *per cent.* The hurricane region is included between the 10th and 28th degrees of north latitude, and the 58th and 86th degrees of west longitude.

breadth of the storm, therefore, may be estimated as between two hundred and fifty and four hundred miles, — the duration depending upon its extent and the velocity with which it moves.

On that portion of the track nearest to the American coast, or the farthest inland, if the storm overlies the continent, the wind begins to blow from the eastern or northeastern point of the horizon, and veers by the north to the northwest, where it terminates. These are known as the northeast storms of the Atlantic States, which are most severe in the beginning, are attended with rain or snow, and generally end with a wind at the northwest, bringing fair weather.

Such are the leading general facts, ascertained by Mr. Redfield, concerning the operations of nature in great storms, particularly those of the United States, and the hurricanes of the West Indies. They are carefully deduced from observations and experiences endlessly multiplied ; and the leading proposition of the rotary motion is fortified by so wide an induction, that we have no hesitation in speaking of it as a truth satisfactorily demonstrated. Mr. Redfield's views are corroborated by Professor Dove, of Berlin, who, without any knowledge of Mr. Redfield's labors, arrived at similar conclusions at about the same time. It is not to be supposed, however, that the rotary storm, though probably the greatest, is the only disturbing cause of the regular atmospheric currents.* Mr. Redfield, whose aim has been, "first, to resolve particular facts into other facts more simple and comprehensive ; and, secondly, to apply these general facts (or, as they are usually called, *laws of nature*) to the synthetical explanation of the phenomena" † of storms, was not anxious to indulge, in his earlier papers, in speculations concerning the *origin* of the phenomena, whose active force he was investigating. Science has not yet determined the part, (probably an important one,) which electricity takes in their production.

But it is less difficult to assign a cause for the mechanical

* We should be glad to present our readers with the outlines of Professor Dove's "General Theory of the Winds," and of the admirable essay of Mr. Brown (*Phil. Mag.*,) in which the views of Daniell are so extended as to embrace hypotheses of the general currents of the atmosphere. But we must keep within the narrowest limits of our subject, — "vapors, and clouds, and storms."

† Stewart's *Elements.*

disturbance of the atmosphere, which will result in the formation of aërial whirlpools. Maupertuis, while engaged in his geodesic operations at Tornea, observed that, on opening the door, the external air immediately produced a whirlwind in the room, which was discernible by means of the con densed vapor. On an occasion in St. Petersburg, when a crowded assembly were suffering from the closeness of the room, a gentleman broke a window for relief, and the air rushing in, formed a visible condensation of snowy matter, having a revolving motion.* It appears, from these anecdotes, that, if a body of air in a quiescent state, at an elevated temperature, and highly saturated with vapor, be suddenly penetrated by a cold current, an aërial vortex will be instantly formed.

Mr. Redfield has met with an able and efficient coadjutor in Lieutenant-Colonel Reid, of the Royal Engineers, who, having been employed at Barbadoes in reëstablishing the public buildings blown down in the hurricane of 1831, had already conceived an interest in the study of the nature of storms, when he read a paper by Mr. Redfield in "Silliman's Journal," for April, 1831. In his valuable work, he has not only laid down in a beautiful manner and with scrupulous fidelity the *data* furnished by Mr. Redfield, but he has also collected numerous accounts of other storms in both hemispheres. To his industry in compiling and arranging curious and important facts must be awarded high praise; but to his modesty and candor no praise, however high, can do more than justice. Upon all topics which he discusses, he has been studious to collect authentic information, and whenever he has been carried into the field of conjecture, he has advanced with that sedate caution and steady regard for certain knowledge, undisturbed by the vanity of speculation, which become the philosophical inquirer. Colonel Reid was the first to illustrate the reverse motion of storms in the southern hemisphere. The most interesting of his records upon this point are those of the storm of March, 1809, encountered by the fleet of the East India Company, under the convoy of the *Culloden*, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, the first Lord Exmouth. It has left a deep impression upon many minds in England by the great loss of life and property it occasioned.

* Harvey's *Treatise on Meteorology*, — *Encyclopædia Metropolitana.*

The fleet had crossed the equator, and sailed on its homeward passage with fine weather, until the 11th of March, when the gale came on. They were then in the vicinity of the islands of Rodriguez and Mauritius, a region which, on the opposite side of the line, corresponds to the West Indies in its stormy character. On the 14th, the fleet was dispersed, and this circumstance afforded the means of obtaining simultaneous observations of the wind in different sections of the storm. After travelling obliquely to the trade-wind, from the east to the west, inclining southerly, the storm recurved at the twenty-fifth and thirtieth degrees of latitude, and went off to the *south*-east, in remarkable conformity with the manner in which the hurricanes of the northern hemisphere pass off to the *north*-east. The brig of war *Harrier* was lost, and four of the East India Company's ships, the *Lady Jane Dundas*, the *Jane*, *Duchess of Gordon*, the *Calcutta*, and the *Bengal*. The four latter were seen for the last time on the 14th, and probably foundered near the centre of the storm, towards which they were then steering.

Colonel Reid has also accompanied Mr. Redfield in his inquiry into the phenomena of water-spouts and whirlwinds. He considers it by no means certain, that the same law of nature produces the small whirlwind and the great storm. We know of no authentic observation, however, except that made by Colonel Reid himself, at Bermuda, which combats the opinion of Mr. Redfield, that the course of rotation is the same in both. The whirling motion of the air satisfactorily accounts for the fall of fish,* and showers of sand, seeds, blood, (a misnomer for red earth, probably,) and salt rain, of which many instances are related both by Colonel Reid and Mr. Espy. Colonel Reid has also applied the diminution of the atmospheric pressure in the centre of storms to explain the extraordinary high tides, and consequent inundations, that often prove more disastrous than the wind. A fall of two inches in the barometer indicates a

* A curious case of the fall of fish in a storm is recorded in *The Athenæum* for October, 1840. It occurred in the Madras Presidency, sixty or seventy years ago, and a sufficient number was gathered to make a curry for the General's table.

"Piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo
Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis."

diminution of one fifteenth in the atmospheric pressure, which would cause the sea under it to rise two feet. A wave of the sea, answering to the atmospheric wave, may move onward at the rate of the storm's progress, accompanying it in its course, and its height will depend upon the reduction of the atmospheric pressure, modified by the revolving power of the wind. When an impulse, thus acquired, has been maintained for some distance, a current will be created, similar to the tidal wave, and of sufficient strength, when added to the flood tide, to cause the inundations that often occur in flat lands. A storm five hundred miles in diameter, carrying with it the diminished pressure of one fifteenth of the column of mercury, seems adequate either to arrest or accelerate existing currents, or to create new ones. Sir Thomas Hastings saw, during a rapid fall of the barometer, at Portsmouth, an ebbing tide stop, and return to the flood, before its period had elapsed. A well attested fact like this proves the correctness of the Colonel Reid's views.

"The apparent connexion of storms with electricity and magnetism" is a subject of the deepest scientific interest. The quantity of electricity developed in violent storms is very great, and has, at times, if the accounts can be relied on, affected the needle to such a degree, that it ceased to be of any use. Colonel Reid ascertained, by experiment, that the two poles of the magnet, in conjunction with the voltaic battery, moved in a manner corresponding to the revolution of hurricanes in the northern and southern hemispheres. Great storms of periodical recurrence are confined, as is well known, to certain parts of the globe ; and it is a curious fact, that the meridians passing through the two north magnetic poles run also through the Chinese sea, and near the Caribbean sea, — the regions of typhoons and hurricanes ; and that here, the magnetic intensities upon Major Sabine's chart of isodynamic lines are strongly marked, whilst at St. Helena, where a gale is rarely known, the intensity observed by Captain Fitzroy is 0.84, "the lowest denomination recorded."

But we resume the examination of the rotary law of storms, which, as we before observed, is the *general* fact, confirmed by Professor Dove and Colonel Reid, deduced by Mr. Redfield from the particular facts he has accumulated. The question is, Do the particular facts sustain Mr.

Redfield's law, and does the law account for the phenomena of storms included in its classification ? The negative answer is stoutly maintained by Mr. Espy of Philadelphia, whose work on the "Philosophy of Storms" stands at the head of our article. Mr. Espy has been known to the public for many years as a writer in the "Franklin Journal" upon various subjects of science, but chiefly upon meteorology. In 1836,* he published a series of essays, containing a theory of the formation of clouds, and rains, the aërial meteors known by the names of storms, tornadoes, whirlwinds, waterspouts, &c., some of the elementary principles of which are to be found in his earlier papers.† The greater part of the "Philosophy of Storms" is a republication of his essays and papers in the "Journal."

His theory is at once simple and comprehensive, and, as "the probability of a hypothesis increases in proportion to the number of the phenomena for which it accounts, and to the simplicity of the theory by which it explains them,"‡ if the facts cited by Mr. Espy were to be received without hesitation, we should be as ready to yield our entire assent to its propositions, as we are to admire the ingenuity displayed in its invention. Mr. Espy repeats the doctrine of Brande, that the winds in a great storm rush impetuously from all parts of its outer boundary, either towards a single centre, or, when the storm is of an elongated form, towards a diametrical line which is the longer axis. Whether this opinion be borrowed from Brande or not, it is a necessary consequence of the new theory. To support this view, Mr. Espy also appeals to facts, and to the very facts adduced by Colonel Reid and Mr. Redfield, as evidences of the rotary motion. He has been active in collecting records for himself, but the storms of 1780 and 1837 are presented in his book as most striking illustrations of his theory, and their application is the more conspicuous, as they are selected from Colonel Reid.

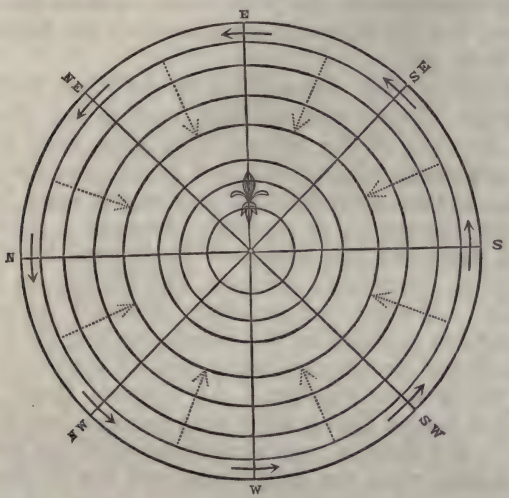
It behooves us, then, to examine this question, and, to render the subject more intelligible, we will make the necessary projections. In doing this, it will be our object to test Mr. Espy's merit as an observer and recorder of facts ; hereafter, we shall discuss his theory. The following figure represents the progressive whirlwind of Mr. Redfield,

* *Franklin Journal*, Vols. XVII., XVIII.

† *Franklin Journal*, Nov., 1833, and Jan., 1835. ‡ Stewart's *Elements*.

the arrows between the two outer circles showing the direction of the wind according to his law. The dotted arrows mark the central direction of the wind, as maintained by Mr. Espy.

Due North.



It will be remarked, that the wind on the north side of Mr. Redfield's whirlwind blows from the east ; on the south side, from the west ; on the east, from the south ; and on the west, from the north. The centripetal storm of Mr. Espy, as shown by the dotted arrows, blows from the point indicated by the compass direction, in the line of the radius, and his wind is always at right angles to Mr. Redfield's. It would not seem very difficult, then, to make up our judgment on this matter, if we were supplied with correct statements of the direction of the wind in different parts of the storm at the same time.

The most valuable information gathered by Colonel Reid is that relating to the hurricanes of October, 1780, the most terrible recorded in West Indian history. Three great storms happened in the same month. The first destroyed the town of Savanna-la-Mar, and wrecked the British frigate *Phenix*. The second, and by far the severest, desolated the island of Barbadoes, and inflicted great losses upon commerce and upon the British fleets. The third dis-

persed the Spanish fleet under Solano, in the Gulf of Mexico, after it had sailed from Havana to attack Pensacola. The faithful method adopted by Colonel Reid, of printing all the accounts in detail, affords to every one the same means of arriving at the truth. England, being then at war, had large squadrons in the West Indies, and on the American coast, and this circumstance multiplied the facilities for tracing these gales.

Sir Peter Parker commanded in the West Indies, and Sir George Rodney was off New York in the *Sandwich*. In the squadron of the former, eight ships were lost, and their crews nearly all perished, and seven vessels were dismasted. In that under Rodney, five vessels were lost, and nine were dismasted, or severely damaged. Savanna-la-Mar was destroyed, the islands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Eustatia, Dominica, Grenada, and Martinique suffered dreadfully. Twenty-five or thirty thousand persons are known to have perished on the islands, besides the crews of the men-of-war already mentioned, and of numerous trading vessels which were wrecked. At Grenada alone, "nineteen sail of loaded Dutch ships were stranded and beaten to pieces." Six ships of war were anchored at the careenage of St. Lucia, when the gale began, and five of them were driven to sea, and returned to port in the most helpless condition. The language of poetry bears a literal interpretation.

> "And anchored navies from their stations drive,
> Wild as the winds, across the howling waste
> Of mighty waters."

At Barbadoes, the family of the governor were obliged to take refuge in the cellar, the wind, in spite of every precaution, having forced a passage into all parts of the house, and torn off most of the roof.

"From this asylum, they were soon driven out; the water being stopped in its passage, having found itself a course to the cellar, they knew not where to go. The water had risen four feet, and the ruins were falling from all quarters. To continue in the cellar was impossible; to return to the house equally so. The only chance left was making for the fields, which at that time appeared equally dangerous. It was, however, attempted; and the family got to the ruins of the foundation of the flagstaff, which soon after giving way, every one endeavoured to find a retreat for himself. The governor, and the few that remained, were thrown down; and it was with great difficulty they

gained the cannon, under the carriage of which they took shelter. Their situation was deplorable; many of the cannon were moved; and they had reason to fear that the one under which they sat might be dismounted and crush them by its fall, or that some of the ruins which were flying about might put an end to their existence; and to render the scene still more doubtful, they were near the powder magazine. Anxiously did they look for the break of day, flattering themselves that with the light they would see a cessation of the storm; yet, when it appeared, little was the storm abated. Nothing can be compared with the terrible devastation that presented itself on all sides; not a building standing. The trees, if not torn up by the roots, were deprived of their leaves and branches; and the most luxurious spring changed, in this one night, into the dreariest winter."*

Such are the awful scenes which the study of this subject leads us to contemplate. One anecdote illumines for a moment the dark gloom. The *Endymion*, *Laurel*, and *Andromache* were to the east of Martinique, and on a lee shore. The *Endymion* just cleared the northeast point of the island; but the two latter vessels were wrecked, and twenty-five of the crew of the *Laurel* alone were saved. These men, of course, were made prisoners. They were sent by the Marquis de Bouillé to the British governor at St. Lucia, with a letter, saying that he could not detain them as prisoners from the chances of a catastrophe common to all.

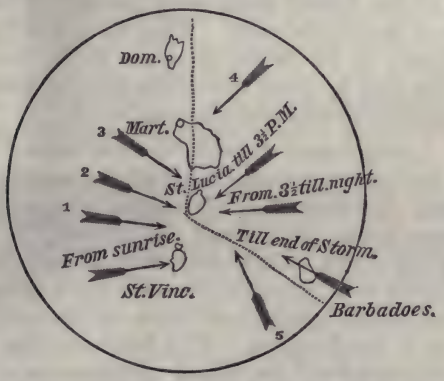
"How far that little candle throws his beams!"

In the first storm, on the third of the month, Mr. Espy has selected the time when the centre is supposed to have passed over Lucia bay, about six o'clock, P. M. The records of the storm at this moment are very incomplete; all winds to the west of south and north are wanting; that is, for one half of the circle, and those on the other half are confined to a small space. This hurricane, we incline to believe, originated on the island of Jamaica. It is first heard of at Port Royal, where it raged more than twelve hours before it reached Savanna-la-Mar. This fact, which Mr. Espy omitted to notice, is entirely inconsistent with his theory; for, according to that, as the wind was from the southeast, the centre of the storm should have been far to the north of Jamaica, before the first part reached Savanna-la-Mar. Neither has Mr. Espy given the exact directions of the wind upon his sketch; his south is nearer south by

* *Gentlemen's Magazine* of 1780. Reid, pp. 347, 384.

west, and the south-southeast at Port Royal is southeast. These may be errors of the engraver, but they favor his views. But the *data* of the storm are not sufficient at this point to authorize its use as a demonstration of either theory.* When we pass to the two next recorded stages of its progress, where it overtook Admiral Rowley's squadron, and the ships belonging to Sir George Rodney's fleet, the whole body of the evidence is in harmony with the rotary law, and irreconcilable with the rectilinear hypothesis. As Mr. Espy has avoided these tests, we will not dwell upon them, but proceed to examine the hurricane of the 11th and 12th, at the point chosen by himself. It is to be observed, however, that whilst Mr. Redfield and Colonel Reid give charts of the whole track of the storm, Mr. Espy limits his projections to one period. If his principle be correct, it applies equally to all periods, and to no one more than another. The following sketch is copied from Mr. Espy's book.†

"Chart of the great Barbadoes hurricane, October 11th, 1780, showing the course of the wind at 6, P. M.



1. Montagu, from 6 to 8, P. M.
2. Amazon, at 2, P. M.
3. Alcmene, from 5 till 9, P. M.
4. Endymion, from P. M. of the 10th to 12th.
5. Albemarle, from 4½ P. M. till next day.

"The dotted line is the course which the centre of the storm moved in."

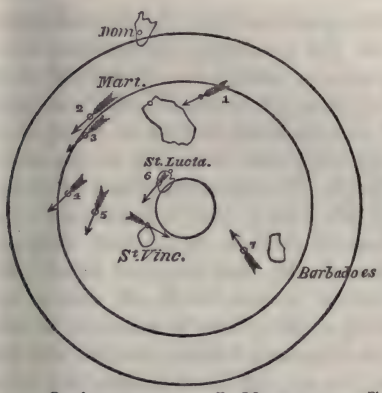
* Among the documents relating to this storm is a letter from Lieutenant Archer to his mother, giving an account of the loss of the *Phenix*, written in a very graphic style, and filled with details of touching interest, such as created the universal popularity of Mr. Dana's "Two Years before the Mast." It is too long to quote, but we recommend its perusal.

† Espy, p. 199.

These arrows point inwards to a central space; but when we have made the necessary corrections, the character of the testimony will be changed. The wind of the *Montagu* which Mr. Espy has put down W. by N. is really N. N. E.* The wind of the *Amazon* instead of being N. W. is N. E.† There is a palpable error in the log of the *Alcmene*; for the wind is marked N. W. when the ship's head in the adjoining column is N. W. also;‡ the "Remarks," as well as the log of the *Amazon*, which vessel was very near the *Alcmene*, show that N. W. is a misprint for N. E. The wind of the *Endymion* is not N. E. as given by Mr. Espy, but E. N. E.§ Mr. Espy's position of the *Albemarle* is wrong; that ship was further to the north and east than he represents her.‖ At St. Vincent, the wind was a little to the west of N. W. and not W. by S. The winds at St. Lucia, so minutely noted as to time, are not to be found in Colonel Reid's documents.¶ The wind at Barbadoes is loosely given, and at long intervals,** so that it is impossible to determine the precise direction at 6, P. M. We shall not make use of it. Finally, Mr. Espy has omitted the *Vengeance* and the *Egmont* altogether, though they were within the space included in his chart. Of the nine arrows, then, in Mr. Espy's projection, eight are positively erroneous, and the ninth (Barbadoes) is uncertain; two other *data* of equal importance are omitted. In the following projection, the arrows are pointed the *right* way.

The reader will perceive, that the mass of air between the circles exhibits a uniform rotary character. In any particular section, the whole tendency is from right to left, and in no instance is it reversed. The course of the wind sometimes deviates a little, as at the *Albemarle* and *Endymion*. The difficulty of observing the exact direction of the wind in a tempest, both at sea and on shore, particularly in the former case, where the motion is violent and unceasing, must be taken into consideration. The winds, too, in their fierce contention will be diverted from regular action. It is rather to be wondered at, that so slight a variation from a steady motion in rotation should be found in so many different ac-

* Reid, p. 365. † *Ibid.* p. 367. ‡ p. 357.
§ p. 371. ‖ Chart 9. ¶ Chap. 8, *passim.*
** There is a contradiction between the log of the *Albemarle* and the account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as to the direction of the wind at 10 o'clock of the 10th. The *Albemarle* must be right; otherwise she could not have gone to sea, and doubled the point of the island.



1. Endymion. 3. Amazon. 5. Montagu. 7. Albemarle.
2. Alcmene. 4. Egmont. 6. Vengeance.

counts and situations. Several of the arrows point in direct opposition to the convergent theory; especially those at St. Vincent, and near Barbadoes. The latitudes of these places are nearly the same; the wind at one is northwest, and at the other southeast; according to Mr. Espy, therefore, the middle of the storm would be north and south of the same parallel, at the same time. At the various stations, the wind went round the compass in conformity with the law of rotation. We may refer particularly to the report of the intendant of Martinique, to the *Endymion*, and indeed to all the vessels. To follow the storm in its whole progress, and point this out in detail, would occupy too much space.

This hurricane of the 11th of October is altogether the most affecting of those mentioned in Colonel Reid's work. It is also the most complete in its annals. It is curious to read the musty old log-books, which were laid upon the shelf sixty years ago, without the least probability that they would ever see the light again. Written with technical conciseness, they appear to exhibit a singular insensibility to the perils and hardships they briefly record. Here and there the cry of the strong swimmer in his agony echoes in our ears; but the notice both of the living and the dying is the mere mention of a fact, and the lament over many

> "a brave vessel,
> Who no doubt had noble creatures in her,
> Dashed all to pieces," —

is confined to the hasty condolement of an official despatch.

Another storm mentioned in Colonel Reid's book, and selected by Mr. Espy as an illustration of his theory in opposition to the rotary law, is that of the middle of August, 1837. He has undertaken to give the position of the storm at noon of the 18th, the period of most rapid change. We have no hesitation in saying, that it is impossible to ascertain the directions of the wind at this hour, for all the vessels on his chart, with any approximation to certainty. For instance, "The *Delaware*, on the 17th, lat. 31° 30′, long. 76° 20′, had a severe gale E. S. E. and then W., which continued till the 20th" ; * and it is from loose statements like this, that, without any qualification, he determines the position and wind of many of the vessels at noon of the 18th, as if they had been expressed at that precise moment. The following is Mr. Espy's projection. †

"Position of storm at noon on the 18th of August, 1837.



1. Wind at Wilmington, P. M. of 18th.
2. Oglethorpe on 18th.
3. West Indian all 18th, from 2, A. M.
4. Rawlins, all 18th, from 2, A. M.
5, Ida, all day of 18th.
6. Penelope, on P. M. of 18th.
7. Yolof, till 8, P. M. of 18th.
8. Westchester, on 18th.
9. Duke of Manchester, till P. M. of 18th.
10. Delaware, on 17th, and probably on 18th, changing round to westward on 20th.
11. Cicero, on 18th."

We have to remark concerning it, that the wind at Wil-

* Espy, p. 237. † *Ibid.* p. 238.

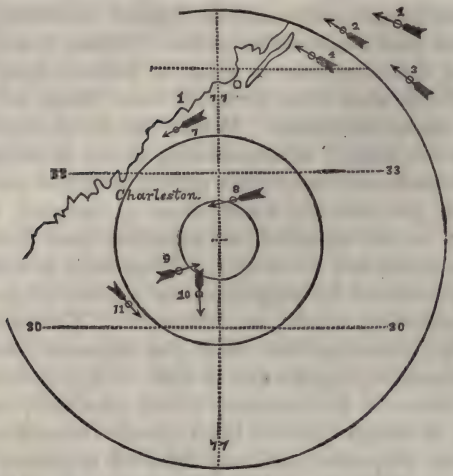
mington is right; that the position given to the *Oglethorpe* is incredible, as it puts that brig only thirty-five miles from Cape Roman, in the neighbourhood of the shoals of Cape Fear, four degrees inside of Cape Hatteras, and four and a half degrees to the westward of the Capes of the Delaware; yet she was reported in a New York* paper, and, no doubt, was bound to a Northern port. It is not only incredible, that she should have run into this dangerous position, but it seems impossible. She was in a northwest gale on the 13th,† and on the 18th, against which she must have proceeded in order to arrive at this place.

The *West Indian* is placed accurately enough. The wind of the *Rawlins* is north, instead of S. W. as Mr. Espy puts it. There is no authority for the wind of the *Ida*; it is described in her log-book as "veering from N. E. to S. W." ‡ The *Penelope* is right. The log-book of the *Yolof* shows no wind until after 8, P. M. of the 18th.§ According to the brief newspaper paragraph, which is the only authority, ‖ the *Westchester* was in the same latitude in *a gale of wind* for two days. This is absurd, and as there are no means of determining her correct place, she is rejected. Mr. Espy has put down the *Duke of Manchester* in a wrong position. She differs from the *Rawlins* more than two degrees in her latitude; ¶ but on the chart they are brought near together, and their winds (that of the latter being misstated) are drawn so as to converge. We have already quoted the report of the *Delaware*; it evidently cannot serve any purpose that aims at accuracy. The *Cicero* is also rejected; her winds agree well enough with the rotary law, but are not sufficiently specific.** Lastly, the ships *Sophia* and *Westbrook*, the bark *King Philip*, and the brig *Mary*, within the influence of the storm, are omitted on Mr. Espy's chart.††

We subjoin a *correct* view of the storm on the 18th, to which the same remarks will apply as to our first amended projection.

In addition to the facts given above, Mr. Espy has cited the accounts of many hurricanes and gales collected by himself, as proofs of his theory. It is, of course, out of the

* Espy, p. 238. † Reid, p. 88. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 102.
§ *Ibid.* pp. 106, 107. ‖ Reid, p. 86. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 116.
** Espy, p. 237. †† Reid, chap. 5.



1. Sophia.
2. Mary.
3. Westbrook.
4. Penelope.
7. Wilmington.
8. Duke of Manchester.
9. West Indian.
10. Rawlins.
11. King Philip.

question to enter upon a critical examination of them here. We will observe, however, that Mr. Espy's summation of the "labors of the joint committee," and his conclusions therefrom are wholly unsatisfactory. In the storm, too, of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of March, 1838, of which Mr. Espy gives a chart showing the probable limits of its extent, we are required to admit, that the wind blew inwards from the borders of the storm universally ; when, in fact, of sixteen or eighteen arrows touched by the limiting circle, or included within it, one half, namely, those numbered 1, 12, 14, 17, 18, 21, 27, 28, 30, do not point inwards. Mr. Espy, before the British Association, quoted the storm of January, 1839, in Great Britain, as sustaining in all its phenomena the theoretical principles he was advocating. This storm has since been again examined by Mr. Hopkins of Manchester, with information furnished by Mr. Smith of Liverpool, in a pamphlet comprising one hundred and forty-one accounts, taken from the local newspapers in various parts of Ireland, Scotland, and England. He did *not* find Mr. Espy's "converging streams rushing towards a centre."

The accounts of storms taken from the public prints are generally vague, meagre, and unsatisfactory. Their object is

not to convey accurate meteorological knowledge, but to relate local and commercial news. There are two modes of treating these accounts ; either to present them entire, as Colonel Reid and Mr. Redfield have done, or, like Mr. Espy, to make selections. When the latter course is pursued, there is danger of considering those facts as the most reasonable and credible, which accord with the preconceived opinions of the theorist, whilst those at variance with them are likely to be rejected as imperfect and irreconcilable with an assumed law of nature. Even such as are accepted may be perverted by prejudice, or a want of proper prudence in guarding against its influence. The numerous errors of Mr. Espy that we have just exposed, render these remarks peculiarly applicable to him. They seriously impair our confidence in his accuracy as an observer, or recorder of facts ; in which light we have hitherto considered him.

We may dispense with any labored argument to show, that if there be a fixed law of nature, according to which those storms act, that constitute the seaman's worst dangers, the knowledge of it will prove of infinite importance in preserving the lives and property exposed to hazard in commerce. It is for this reason, that we have extended our criticism further than may be altogether interesting to the general reader. The result is, that we find the law of Mr. Redfield fully sustained ; and we see, that the Roval Society * and the British Association † concur in his views. Mr. Redfield, however, has modified his first conception so far as to admit an inward and upward tendency, and a consequent spiral action, in the winds that compose the body of the storm.‡ This expresses our own view more completely. A rotary motion, if continued a sufficient length of time, must, we conceive, finally terminate in a spiral revolution. The centrifugal action tends constantly to heap up the air, and increase its density, upon the outer borders of the storm, and the increased density occasions an inward pressure. We may suppose these two forces to be, for a time, equally balanced. But the rotary movement experiencing retardation

* *Instructions to the Officers of the Antarctic Expedition,* Phil. Mag. Vol. XV, 3d series.

† Professor Forbes's Supplementary Report.

‡ Paper read by Mr. Redfield before the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, January 15th, 1841.

from friction at the surface of the earth, and from the reaction of the denser medium constantly becoming greater, the centrifugal force is weakened, and when it is reduced so much that the inward pressure gains the ascendancy, as it must do in the end, the spiral revolution is established. The greater height of the barometer at the borders of the storm than in the centre, verifies the existence of an increased density.

Mr. Redfield has found a warm opponent in Dr. Hare, of Philadelphia,* whose strictures also extend to Professor Dove.† As he has chosen to misunderstand and misapply the Professor's expression of a "rotary cylinder," and to insist accordingly, that the outer portion of the storm should be found to move with the greater rapidity, as if the expression were intended to represent the storm as a solid of revolution, he has spared us the trouble of an argument. Dr. Hare's objections are chiefly of a speculative kind. The best answer to them is to be found in the judicious language of Mr. Redfield.

"If the supporters of a rotative or whirlwind action in tornadoes and hurricanes had chosen to maintain their cause in a speculative manner, the case might have been different. But when their facts and results were offered on the basis of direct observations, which had been set forth in many cases, with particularity and precision, it seems like a waste of words to assail these observed phenomena and results with strictures and objections of this character; volumes of which can never equal in value the direct observations which may be made of the phenomena of a single storm." ‡

Before we conclude this division of our subject, we must advert to the rules drawn up by Mr. Redfield for the government of the seaman when he encounters a revolving storm.§ They are prefaced by observations explaining its principal phenomena, and such general features of it as appear to be established. They are the honorable and valuable results of

* *Phil. Mag.* Vol. XIX.; also *Silliman's Journal.*

† *Silliman's Journal*, Vol. XLIII.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLIV.; Notice of Dr. Hare's "Strictures," &c. Mr. Redfield, in his "Meteorological Sketches," (*Silliman's Journal*, Vol. XXXIII., No. 1,) has presented some theoretical views concerning the prevailing currents of the atmosphere, which will not, we apprehend, receive the entire sanction of the scientific community.

§ *Silliman's Journal*, Vol. XXV.; Blunt's *Coast Pilot.*

arduous and successful investigation. A certain degree of intelligence is requisite for their proper application, but they are simplified as far as the topic will admit. That they will prove beneficial to navigation, we have no doubt. The mariner will learn from them to avoid a storm, or, being involved in one, to escape from the destructive violence of the central portion. Surely, that person is to be ranked among the benefactors of mankind, who has lessened the perils of the sea, and added to the security of commerce.

It remains for us to discuss Mr. Espy's theory. Before doing so, it will be just to make a hasty review of some of those principles established by the skilful experiments of Dalton, Daniell, and others, upon which it is founded. The experiments of the former upon the rarefaction and condensation of air in the receiver of an air-pump, similar to those made by Mr. Espy in his *nephelescope*, led him to discover the effect of the latent heat of vapor in raising the temperature of the atmosphere. The conditions of the experiments were varied, by using air in the different stages, from extreme dryness to a state of saturation ; the thermometer suspended in the middle of the receiver experienced a fall, which was at its maximum with the dry air, and decreased according to the increase of moisture. Dalton has stated this result as follows : " Suppose that a part of the atmosphere contained one fiftieth of its weight of aqueous vapor, and that three fifths of this vapor, that is, one hundredth of the whole elastic mass, was converted into water, then the heat given out would be sufficient to raise the temperature of the remaining mass of air and vapor six or eight degrees." * He also estimated the change in the bulk of the atmosphere due to a change of temperature. Mr. Daniell enlarged our comprehension of the subject, by showing the elevation necessary to the condensation of vapor at certain temperatures, and the manner in which the admixture affected the gradation of temperature resulting from the decreasing density of the upper parts of the atmosphere.

" The steam, [the slow and silent influence of which Daniell considers as one of the mainsprings of all the wonderful motions of the air and changes of the weather,†] as it reaches its

* *Manchester Memoirs*, Vol. V., Old Series, pp. 523–525.
† *Meteorological Essays and Observations*, p. 263.

point of condensation, must give out its latent heat, and during its precipitation, combining with a fresh proportion, it again ascends, and again evolves in the middle regions. It may thus be considered as carrying caloric from the surface of the sphere to the higher strata; and it is obvious how a considerable section of any one column may thus have its temperature equalized and fully saturated with aqueous particles. The currents thus become affected, both by the expansive powers of the vapor, and of the extricated heat." *

Thence it follows, that the condensation of elastic vapor into clouds raises the temperature of the air; and this theoretical and practical conclusion is confirmed by the observation of M. de Luc, who found the thermometer to rise in a cloud. He noticed, also, that as the cloud became larger and more dense, it increased in elevation.† An accumulation of aqueous vapor, and a consequent unequal expansion of the atmospheric columns, are accompanied by a decrease of density, and are made known by a fall of the barometer. A constant stream then rushes in with increasing force, augumenting by its condensation the cause of its velocity.‡ Mr. Dalton, and afterwards Professor Leslie, demonstrated, that the mean temperature of the atmosphere diminishes from below upwards, in a regular gradation. This diminution has since been determined to be about one degree for every one hundred yards of ascent. Mr. Daniell discovered, that the elasticity of aqueous vapor does not decrease with the gradual decrease of the temperature and density of the air, as we ascend, but remains stationary at great heights.§ He also accounted for the apparent permanency and stationary aspect of a cloud. Clouds amongst mountains, and upon hills by the sea-side, appear to be perfectly immovable, although a strong wind is blowing upon them. The fact is, that the vapor, wafted by the wind, is precipitated by contact with the cold mountain; and is urged forward in its course till, borne beyond the influence which caused its condensation, it is again exhaled, and disappears; and this process must also take place on either side of the planes of precipitation in the atmosphere, and give an apparently fixed position to clouds in the free air.‖ Gay-Lussac has also ex-

* *Meteorological Essays and Observations*, pp. 77, 87, 129.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 105. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112. § *Ibid.*, p. 128.
‖ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124, and *Man. Mem.* Vol. V., New Ser.

plained the same phenomenon by the constant ascent of warm currents during the day. The theory of the formation of heavy masses of dense clouds, the *cumuli*, for instance, seen in fine weather, which sometimes accumulate in piles of stupendous magnitude and beauty, deeply shaded at the base, and terminating in lofty summits of silver lustre, is given by Daniell.* The sun dissolves the morning vapors, and, during the heat of the day, they rise from the surface of the land and waters, and reach their point of condensation in greater or less quantities at different altitudes.

> "And now the mists from earth are clouds in heaven;
> Clouds slowly castellating in a calm,
> Sublimer than a storm."

We have no room to devolope this hypothesis, but it is adopted by Mr. Espy, as one of the most striking illustrations of his theory. Dalton and Daniell had also provided invaluable helps to the meteorologist, in their very complete tables, exhibiting the specific gravity, elasticity, temperature, dew point, &c., of the atmosphere, at different altitudes, for every ten degrees of latitude from the pole to the equator.

Mr. Espy's combination of the foregoing facts and principles is equally novel and ingenious. The first formation of a cloud is occasioned, he conceives, by the uprising of a column or stratum of air from the surface, where it has become more heated, or more highly charged with aqueous vapor, and thus specifically lighter than the air in its vicinity. As this column ascends, it is cooled, by the expansion due to diminished pressure, at the rate of about one degree for every one hundred yards of ascent, allowance being made for the corresponding decrease in the elastic force of the vapor. If it rise high enough, the cold thus produced will condense some of its vapor into cloud. The highest temperature, at which this can take place, is the dew-point; and the height, therefore, which the uprising column must attain, before this condensation can occur, or the cloud be formed, depends upon the difference between the temperature of the air and the temperature of the dew-point, one degree of this difference answering to one hundred yards of altitude. As soon as the cloud begins to form, the latent caloric of the condensed vapor, being liberated, raises the

* *Meteorological Essays and Observations*, p. 124.

temperature of the air in the column, and prevents it from cooling so fast in its further progress upward as it did to that point, keeping it constantly at a higher temperature, and consequently less heavy than the air of the surrrounding region. An upmoving power is thus created, and rapidly increased by the latent heat, or caloric of elasticity, of the vaporous portion of the atmosphere in the column.

This may be regarded as the first step of the process, and Mr. Espy thinks, that it is going on simultaneously in other parts of the atmosphere for many miles round, as appears from the number of detached clouds existing at the same time. All these columns have a tendency to approach and unite into one large cloud. A mechanical disturbance of the atmospheric equilibrium has now taken place, which nature will make efforts to restore. First, there must be a new accession of air towards the rarefied column, increasing its upward steam power ; secondly, the air, carried into the upper parts, is to be disposed of. The necessary supply is afforded by the rush of air on all sides towards the centre of the ascending column ; and here we have Mr. Espy's converging winds. We speak of this as the second step. The third is the disposition of the air in the upper part of the column. The great expansion of the air in the newly generated cloud will cause it to spread outward in all directions above. The outspreading of the air will form an *annulus* all round the cloud, in which the air will sink from its greater weight, and increase the velocity of the wind near the surface of the earth towards the centre of the column ; whilst, on the outside of the *annulus*, the pressure will cause a gentle wind outwards. The upmoving currents are now supplied by the air within the *annulus*, and that which descends in the *annulus* itself. Any general currents, that may exist at the time, will modify these motions by their transverse action, and may prevent the formation of the cloud, by breaking off and carrying away the highest portion of the column before it has reached the plane of condensation.

These are the fundamental propositions of Mr. Espy's theory, and in connexion with them, one important fact is to be specially noted. The ascending column originates in the smaller specific gravity of a stratum of air. As the column rises, the specific gravity continues to diminish according to the elevating power ; or rather, it is more proper to say, that

the elevating power is wholly due to the loss of specific gravity caused by expansion, and the heat emitted by the vapor as it condenses. Therefore, the barometer must fall to its lowest level in the column, or under the middle of the cloud. And such is the observed fact. Sir John Herschel, and afterwards Sir David Brewster,* objected to Mr. Espy's theory, that the inward rush of air ought to make the barometer rise in the centre of a storm. These distinguished philosophers had not given to the subject the attention it deserves. The converging winds endeavour to restore an already disturbed equilibrium ; but no sooner do they arrive at the point where they deflect upwards, than *they* also lose their gravity by expansion and *calorification*. A hasty perception of Mr. Espy's misapplication of the principle of spouting fluids may have occasioned their mistake. This principle applies to the converging tendency of the surrounding air. Mr. Espy commits the error of applying it, also, to the ascent of the air in the column, which is owing to its buoyancy alone.†

We have yet to show how Mr. Espy's theory explains the common operations of nature. As the force of the ascending current increases, together with the quantity of condensed vapor, the cloud will change from the fleecy *cirrus*, or massy *cumulus*, to the black and threatening *nimbus*, when the moisture will be precipitated in the form of *rain*. The more elevated drops of rain may be forced up by the powerful draught, and be discharged from the *annulus* into the clear, cold air, whence, being frozen, they will descend to the earth as *hail*. As the centre of the spout passes over the ground, its lifting power may take up light substances, which will afterwards reappear in those *showers of dust*, *grain*, &c., which have excited the curiosity of the philosopher, and the terror of the superstitious. ‡ If the air is very hot below, while no cross currents disturb the perpendicular elevation of the spout, and the whole atmosphere is highly saturated with vapor, then the inward and upward motions will

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* *Edinburgh Review*, No. 138.

† Professor Peirce's Objections, *American Almanac* for 1843.

‡ A shower of grain took place in 1840, at Rajket, in Kattywar. The natives flocked to Captain Aston, to ask his opinion of this phenomenon ; for not only did the heaven's raining grain upon them excite terror, but the omen was aggravated by the fact, that the seed was not one of the cultivated grains of the country, but entirely unknown to them.

be very violent. The rapid diminution of pressure will lower the point of condensation until the base of the cloud touches the earth. In this case, we have the phenomenon known as a *tornado* on land, or a *water-spout*, at sea. In this, the rarefaction of the air is extreme ; passing over a building, it may cause a sudden expansion of the air within, which will blow out the sides and roof. If a tornado should be arrested in its progress by meeting a mountain, it would disgorge at once its accumulated weight of water and ice in one immense flood, that would cut its way down the side of the mountain, carrying with it the loose earth and stones, and leaving a deep gully to mark the track of its ruin. This is Mr. Espy's mode of accounting for the *meteoric waterfalls*, one of which overwhelmed the unfortunate Willey family in the pass of the White Mountains. As the air spreads out more rapidly above than it runs in below, the causes which occasion the first formation of a cloud, may enlarge the circuit of their influence, so as finally to embrace a region of considerable extent, the violence of their action increasing with its time and extent ; the meteor then becomes a *storm*, or *hurricane*, whose motion, *en masse*, is governed by the pre' dominating upper currents.

We must content ourselves with these general outlines of Mr. Espy's beautiful and original theory, regretting that want of space alone, and by no means a want of respect for its merits, compels us to withhold the further development of its details. " This beautiful mechanism, whether it has been adopted by nature or not, is most worthy of her, and Mr. Espy may honorably be proud of its conception."* The reception of this theory, by the French Academy, amounted to applause. A report upon it was made by a committee consisting of MM. Arago, Pouillet, and Babinet, names eminent in physical science, who, regarding Mr. Espy's facts as fully confirmed by his documents, and confiding in his observations, accepted his hypothesis in terms of the highest approbation. One qualification, and one prolific of doubts, was admitted ; it was, that Mr. Espy had not taken into account the effect of electricity in these phenomena.

Mr. Espy's " Paper on Storms " was read before the British Association, in September, 1840. It excited uni-

* " Espy's Theory of Storms," by Professor Peirce. *Camb. Miscellany*, No. 3.

versal interest, and his lecture room was so thronged, that numbers were obliged to turn from the door, after a vain attempt to procure admission. Mr. Espy has subjected his theory to the rigid test of mathematical analysis, by computing, from the *data* of Dalton and Daniell, the amount of heat given out by the condensed vapor, the decrease of density in the ascending column, the effect of the diminished pressure upon the barometer, and the force and velocity of the upward motion. Among other objections made at the meeting of the British Association, it was stated by Professor Forbes, that these calculations were erroneous. We should have been content, without further examination, to reply, that the committee of the French Academy pronounced them "*tres suffisamment exactes*," had not Professor Peirce of Harvard University repeated them in one instance, and proved, that "there are cases in which rain does fall, and in which Mr. Espy's uprising columns cannot be sustained;" from which he concludes, that "his views do not embrace the whole subject, and some other mode of accounting for the continuance of the rain remains to be ascertained."*

Professor Forbes further objected, that the central funnel or spout would be insufficient to vent the air rushing into it. An upward motion, however, of ten miles an hour, in a space of moderate dimensions, such as is indicated by the calm in the centre of a storm, would give vent to air rushing towards it from every direction with the velocity of one hundred miles an hour. But this reply to Professor Forbes injures Mr. Espy's theory of the formation of hail. Mr. Arch Smith's remark, that a rotary motion must inevitably result from a centripetal one, unless we imagine the infinite improbability, that all the radial forces precisely counterbalance each other, is so plainly justified by an elementary principle of dynamics, that we wonder it escaped Mr. Espy's penetration. But to objections of a theoretical character, like these last, Mr. Espy answers by an appeal to facts, and the recorded phenomena of nature. Taking facts, then, as our argument, we intend to add a few comments.

In order that a theory may possess the requisite degree of plausibility, it ought not only to be correct in its fundamental

* *Cambridge Miscellany*, No. 3.

principles, but sound and accurate in its deductions ; not only symmetrical in its general structure, but perfectly harmonious in its agreement with authentic observations. The primary principle of this theory leads its author to maintain, that artificial fires, by creating an ascending stream of heated air, under favorable circumstances, may produce rain. In the spirit of an adventurer rather than a philosopher, he offers to display this feat, if a promise of sufficient reward be given *in case of success.**

But the statements with which Mr. Espy enforces his opinions point also to the generation of electricity, by chemical decomposition arising from combustion, as a probable cause of the shower. If his theory were strictly correct, we might expect, that the heat communicated to the atmosphere by the combustion of fuel, and by the animal respiration in great cities, would prove a frequent source of rain.† Yet the table of Mr. Dalton shows, that less rain falls at London, Liverpool, and Manchester, than in the country. The amount at London is eight inches below the mean of Great Britain, as determined by Dalton. The meteorological observations throughout the Philosophical Magazine show the same result. One table exhibits the quantity of rain, for a series of years, in more than one hundred places in both hemispheres. The mean annual amount of the whole table is about 42.5 inches. The annual amount at London, according to Howard, is 25.2 inches ; according to Daniell, 22.2 inches ; and according to Dalton, from forty years' observation, 20.7 inches. The annual amount at Paris is 19.9 inches. We have already shown, that the centripetal tendency of the winds in a great storm, advocated by this theory, is contradicted by the facts. The whirling motion in whirlwinds, waterspouts, and tornados, also, is proved by the testimony of accurate witnesses. Mr. Espy thought so in 1833, before he had contrived his theory ; then he said, "When a waterspout occurs, it is acknowledged on all hands, and by every observer, that it is attended by a whirlwind."‡ We may refer particularly to the descriptions of that able seaman and hydrographer, Horsburg, who, having prepared his ship, carried her through the centre of several of

* Espy, p. 497. † Mr. Hutchinson's *Objections*, Espy, p. 463.
‡ *Franklin Journal* for Nov. 1833.

them.* The accounts of Captain Beechey, the report of the tornado that sunk the steamboat *Tigris* in the river Euphrates, on the 21st of May, 1836, and the observation of Colonel Reid, are distinct and explicit upon this fact.† M. Pellis, professor of mathematics in the college of Sainte Foy, describes a tornado that happened at Flanjaques. ‡ It turned a mill round, and twisted the trees, until their tops were forced round almost the entire circle. Several were noted in the last century, at the lake of Geneva, and Limay in France, of a similar character.§ And Mr. Espy, in his extracts from M. Peltier, has included a very striking instance of one, which devastated the *communes* of Fountenay and Châtenay, (near Paris,) during which "there arose a frightful whirlwind of dust, and light bodies." ‖ The same remark applies to the hurricane of Stow, described by Professor Loomis, to the New Haven tornado, by Professor Olmsted, and the Providence tornado, by Mr. Redfield. The only exception of weight is the New Brunswick tornado, the *traces* of which were carefully examined by Professors Bache and Henry. They did not witness the tornado itself. Their conclusion was, "that the effects indicated a moving column of rarefied air, without any whirling motion, at or near the surface of the earth." We shall not endeavour to set aside these high authorities, or take any thing from their valuable opinions in this particular case. Still, the whirling motion in the others remains to be accounted for, upon other principles than those of Mr. Espy's theory. But for authorities, we may cite the distinguished names of Pouillet¶ and Despretz,** both of whom speak of tornados as characterized by a whirling movement.

The most minute and satisfactory relation of a whirlwind is to be found in a letter from Dr. Franklin to Peter Collinson.†† Franklin accompanied it three quarters of a mile; he found the "circular motion amazingly rapid, bending some tall trees round in a circle swiftly, and very surprisingly." This whirlwind, the tornado of 1741 at Lake Geneva, and that quoted from M. Pellis, were unattended with rain or

* Reid, p. 9. † *Idem*, chap. 11. ‡ *Comptes Rendus*, Vol. I.
§ *Histoire de l'Académie*, 1741, p. 20; 1742, p. 26; 1764, p. 32.
‖ Espy, p. 357. ¶ *Elémens de Physique et de Météorologie.*
** *Traité Elémentaire de Physique*, 4th ed. p. 865.
†† Franklin's *Works*, Sparks's ed. Vol. VI. p. 201.

hail. The latter left behind a dense smoke, that was not even moist. In these phenomena, Mr. Espy's steam-power is entirely wanting; for he certainly will not ask us to believe, that the vapor was condensed, and that an ascending force, varying from two hundred and forty to seven hundred and twenty feet a second,* existed in the spout, and yet that no drops of rain should be thrown from its summit. Here, again, we have very striking phenomena, that are to be accounted for upon other principles than those of Mr. Espy's theory. His neglect of the influence of electricity, also, which he regards as only accessory and secondary, is, in our judgment, a fatal defect. His theory aims at a complete explanation of all the wonderful changes of the atmosphere, without a passing notice of this mighty agent. We are not aware, that there is any detailed description of a tornado, in which it does not appear to take an active part; and several of those the most minutely and accurately portrayed, such as the tornado seen from Nice by M. Michaud,† those of Châtenay,‡ Natchez, and Providence, exhibit its presence in so striking a manner, that it is difficult to imagine their production by other means. Dupré quotes the accounts of two tornados, which ravaged the vicinities of Pas-de-Calais on the 6th of July, 1822, and Trèves on the 25th of June, 1829, in both of which, the whirling motion and electrical agency are distinctly marked. He introduces them to teach the student the nature of these terrible storms. § Lamé also adopts Peltier's theory of the electrical origin of tornados. ‖ Mr. Espy subsequently qualifies his opinions to this extent; that he "would not be understood to say that electricity has nothing to do with this phenomenon"; but still he regards "the dynamical agency, necessarily resulting from the diminished weight of a suddenly formed cloud," as the prime cause, both in order and effect. ¶

We have yet stronger reasons for believing, that the action of electricity alone can account for the formation of hail.

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* Espy, p. 306. † *Nicholson's Journal*, Vol. I. p. 583.

‡ As described by M. Peltier. § *Traité Elémentaire*, p. 368, Vol. I.

‖ *Cours de Physique*, 2d ed. Vol. III. pp. 98, 100.

¶ Espy, p. 370. — The philosophic view of the electrical origin of tornados is ably presented by M. Peltier, "*Sur Trombes*," and by Dr. Hare of Philadelphia, in his reply to Professor Oersted of Copenhagen, in Reid's Appendix.

A particular kind of crackling is frequently heard before the descent of hail, attributed by some meteorologists to electrical discharges, a thousand times repeated, the hail-stones being strongly and differently electrified. On the approach of hail, the atmospheric electrometer affords another proof; the electricity is found not only to change in intensity, but to pass from positive to negative, and *vice versâ*, ten or twelve times in a minute.* Hail has been observed to fall from a cloud, that had previously discharged rain, when it encountered another cloud rushing towards it with great violence, and producing thunder. Some of the most beautiful provinces of France and Italy have been subject to periodical visitations of desolating hail storms, which have demolished the labors of the husbandman and vine-grower, and converted the bloom of summer, or the riches of autumn, into dreariness and sterility. Some places, from frequent catastrophes of this kind, have obtained the designation of "hail countries." Mr. Murray † relates several instances in which fields in these districts have been perfectly protected from the fatal consequences of these storms by conductors, or *paragrêles*. The hail cloud has carried its ravages to the very borders of the enclosure thus guarded, and, becoming harmless within the sphere of attraction of the *paragrêles*, has passed over it without injury, whilst it continued its work of destruction upon the adjoining plain, which had no means of disarming the cloud of its electricity.

We have still more important testimony from M. Lecoc, professor of natural history at Clermont-Ferrand, whose philosophic ardor carried him into the very laboratory of nature, when engaged in her mighty operations. He ascended the mountain of Puy-de-Dôme during a storm, and remained in the clouds which were pouring down rain and hail alternately. He observed, that both hail and rain, especially the former, were precipitated immediately after a flash, and seemed to be a consequence of the lightning. Another fact, bearing on our argument, was remarked, that the hail cloud was low. Mr. Espy, it will be remembered, in his theory, requires, for the phenomenon of hail, a lofty cloud and great ascending force in the spout, to raise the drops of

* Mr. George Harvey's *Treatise on Meteorology, — Encyclopædia Met.*

† *Treatise on Atmospheric Electricity*, by John Murray, F. S. A., &c. &c. pp. 131, 135.

condensed vapor to its summit, and discharge them into the cold air where they are congealed. M. Lecoc saw two distinct beds of clouds, separated by clear atmosphere. It was only when these clouds, brought near each other by contrary winds, were imposed one over the other, that the hail was formed. The flash invariably preceded its descent, and it always fell from the lower cloud. M. Lecoc was able to determine the height of these clouds, some of which were beneath his station. One was only twelve hundred metres, or about two thirds of a mile high.* The motion of the clouds is adverse to Mr. Espy's theory. They approached, overlaid, and passed beyond each other, *retaining their full shape*, and did not, according to his supposed law, converge to a space of general congregation, and there appear to rise. Mr. Espy's column, also, was variously scattered by the conflicting winds, and yet clouds were formed, and successive storms followed their conjunction. M. Arago testifies, that he has more than once seen clouds, from which hail would in a few moments have escaped abundantly, cover as with a thick veil the whole extent of a valley, whilst the neighbouring hills enjoyed at the same time a pure sky, and agreeable temperature.† According to Von Buch, it rarely hails on mountains, owing to the low elevation of the clouds from which hail descends. Finally, the illustrious Lamé, in unqualified language, ascribes to electricity alone the generation of hail.‡

We must terminate here our hurried examination of Mr. Espy's theory. Though it makes use only of principles of acknowledged validity, and is simple and elegant in the combination of them, we conclude, that their application is, in many cases, and with regard to the most interesting particulars, erroneous both in mode and degree. The actual phenomena of nature, the rotation of the winds in storms, the whirling motion of the tornado and water-spout, and the existence of these phenomena unaccompanied by the evidences of Mr. Espy's *only* cause of aërial disturbance, the terrible power of electricity, are not accounted for, or even recognized. How far he may find it necessary to modi-

* *Comptes Rendus*, Vol. II. p 324. † Mr. Harvey's *Treatise.*

‡ Vol. III. p. 95. The formation of hail has been twice proposed by the French Academy, as the subject of an essay to receive the first mathematical prize, without success.

fy it hereafter, we shall not undertake to decide; "but whatever may be the result, the merit of having first noticed this tendency of the liberated caloric must be conceded to Mr. Espy, and never can be disregarded as unimportant in any correct theory of storms." *

We have already had occasion to point out several inaccuracies of Mr. Espy, which seriously affect his character as a teacher of science. We should fail in duty to our readers, if we were to pass over some other errors, that have fallen under notice in the course of our investigation. In 1831, Mr. Espy declared, that he had found, by repeated experiments, that the dew-point descended before rain.† At that time, he advanced a different hypothesis concerning rain, based upon the independent motion of the particles of aqueous vapor, which he derived from Dalton's "Constitution of the Atmosphere." His present theory requires, that the dew-point should *rise* before rain; accordingly, he tells us, that the air becomes highly charged with aqueous vapor before the cloud begins to form. The philosopher is allowed to alter, or abandon his hypotheses, and should be ready to do so, when he finds them inconsistent with facts; but the facts themselves are not, we conceive, equally flexible and convenient. On two occasions, Mr. Espy specifies the height of the clouds, and furnishes the *data* by which his computations are made. One of these clouds he pronounces eleven,‡ and the other, fourteen,§ miles high, and he adds, (what ought to be very gratifying to our pride to know,) that the steam power of the clouds in the United States is much greater than it is in Great Britain. These astonishing altitudes so far exceeded any thing in the table of Crosthwaite, the actual measurements of Riccioli, or the observations of Humboldt and Dalton, that we were induced to repeat his calculations. We have too great a reverence for the

* "Espy's Theory of Storms," by Professor Peirce. *Cambridge Miscellany*, No. 3. Mr. Meikle, of Edinburgh, claims the honor of having anticipated Mr. Espy in his theory; (see *Edin. New Phil. Jour.*, Vol. XXIX.) For the proof, he refers to the "London Quarterly Journal of Science" for April, 1839, and to the article "Hygrometry," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." We have examined this question; and after observing, that Mr. Meikle's merit, or rather demerit, consists in having very imperfectly copied from Dalton, or Daniell, a single idea concerning the latent heat of vapor, we dismiss the claim with contempt.

† *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, for April, 1831.

‡ *Franklin Journal*, May, 1836. § *Philosophy of Storms*, p. 50.

mother country, step-mother though she be, to rejoice in any such unfair advantage over her ; we were, therefore, pleased to discover, that our formulæ reduced these ambitious elevations to four miles in the first instance, and to two and a half (!) miles in the last. In the first case, we counted the sunset from the setting of the upper limb ; but if Mr. Espy dated from the centre, as he probably did, the cloud would come down to less than three miles. In the latter case, we made allowance for the refraction and sun's semi-diameter, without which any pretence to accuracy is frivolous. Mr. Espy assigned to these clouds velocities of forty-eight, and one hundred and twenty, miles an hour, respectively. We find the velocities to be eleven and thirty-two miles an hour.*

The style of Mr. Espy's book demands some criticism. He has made an apology in the preface, (and one was needed,) for its ill sorted incongruities, and useless and costly repetitions. We will not, therefore, dwell upon this defect. Neither will we charge him with occasional injustice to Mr. Redfield.† Neither will we reproach him with his insufferable conceit and bad grammar, in calling his work "the beginning of our knowledge *on* the causes of Storms."‡ after Dr. Franklin had discovered the law of progress of our northeast storms, and Mr. Redfield had established the law of rotation of the West India hurricanes, and Colonel Reid had published his valuable compilation of facts and observations, enriched by his comments. Neither shall it subdue our gravity, that Mr. Espy has been pleased to style himself, by implication, the Archimedes § and Newton ‖ of meteorology ; or that he considers the modern chemists, who first discovered the latent heat of vapor, as holding the same relation to him, that the ancient mathematicians, who made the sections of the cone, may be supposed to have to Newton, Kepler, and La Place.¶

These things our charity can overlook. But his indecorous rudeness to a name illustrious in the annals of science imposes upon us a duty, which we hasten to perform. In

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* Mr. Espy, in his work, changes the altitude of the first of these clouds to ten miles, and its velocity to forty-five miles. The *data* remain unchanged. pp. 49, 50.

† *Philosophy of Storms*, Preface, and pp 58, 60.

‡ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 5.

§ *Ibid.*, Preface.

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

treating the Huttonian theory of rain, Mr. Espy enters upon a calculation to show, that a rain such as fell at Wilmington on the 29th of July, 1834, of 5.1 inches, could not follow from the mingling of the whole atmosphere over that region, at extreme temperatures; and he adds, "If gentlemen will frame theories on loose principles, without once putting these principles to the test of calculation, and without even taking the least notice of the latent heat of vapor, or the specific heat of air, they ought not to be surprised, that a little plain arithmetic should dissipate their empty visions, and 'leave not a wreck behind.'" *

Both here and elsewhere,† Mr. Espy has discreditably misrepresented Dr. Hutton's theory of rain. His "little plain arithmetic" assumes a case (that is, a still atmosphere), which would, if admissible, be just as fatal to his theory as to Dr. Hutton's. He knows, that such an objection as this is answered in all treatises on meteorology, by the great effect of variable winds in transporting the humidity of the air in every direction, and by numberless currents in every locality and at every altitude, blending together the vapor raised at diverse places, and thus producing, in accordance with the hypothetical principles, sufficient sources of more or less abundant precipitation. It is the mingling of currents from different quarters, and at various temperatures, which produces rain in Mr. Espy's theory. He suggests, that the concurrence of the winds obeys a certain law. Admit this law to be true, yet after the streams of converging air have met, nature will deposit their moisture according to laws discovered by Dr. Hutton; and we regard his omission of Dr. Hutton's principle of the relative ratios of increase of the temperature of the air, and of the aqueous vapor, as a great oversight. But to speak of the hypothesis of Dr. Hutton, which, for forty years, has been accepted by the scientific men of Europe as the most plausible theory of rain ever invented, as an empty vision framed on loose principles, is language so indecently disrespectful to this profound mathematician, ingenious theorist, and skilful experimentalist, characterized as it is with the exultation of superior success, that it merits, and shall receive at our hands, the severest rebuke.

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* *Philosophy of Storms*, p. 444. † *Ibid.*, p. 209.

We have no space left to fulfil our first intention of taking such extended notice of Professor Loomis's paper as its importance claims. It is elaborated with remarkable care and ingenuity, and — to give it a high praise — is worthy of its author. We trust we shall hear soon of the removal of this able inquirer to some university in the Atlantic cities, where he may take his proper place in the front rank of American science. To the subject before us, our scientific countrymen may turn with just and honorable pride. It has revealed new and valuable facts, and these facts are of that class which lead to the knowledge of general laws. It has served the great cause of civilization and humanity, by giving fresh security to navigation, and by imparting to the seaman new and useful guides, when he fearlessly steers his ship into the hostile regions of storms, —

> "And through the shock
> Of fighting elements, on all sides round
> Environed, wins his way, harder beset,
> And more endangered, than when Argo passed
> Through Bosphorus, betwixt the justling rocks;
> Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned
> Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steered."

Art. V. — 1. *An Address to the People of Rhode Island, delivered in Newport, May* 3, 1843, *in Presence of the General Assembly, on Occasion of the Change in the Civil Government of Rhode Island.* By William G. Goddard. Providence: 1843. 8vo. pp. 80.

2. *A Concise History of the Efforts to obtain an Extension of Suffrage in Rhode Island, from the Year* 1811 *to* 1842. By Jacob Frieze. Providence: 1842. 12mo. pp. 171.

3. *The Affairs of Rhode Island: a Discourse delivered in Providence, May* 22, 1842. By Francis Wayland. Providence: 1842. 8vo. pp. 32.

4. *Charge of the Honorable Chief Justice Durfee to the Grand Jury, at the March Term of the Supreme Judicial Court at Bristol, R. I.* 1842. 8vo. pp. 16.

5. *A Review of Dr. Wayland's Discourse on the Affairs of Rhode Island; a Vindication of the Sovereignty of*

the People, and a Refutation of the Doctrines and Doctors of Despotism. By A Member of the Boston Bar. Boston: B. B. Mussey. 1842. 8vo. pp. 30.

6. *An Address to the People of Rhode Island on the approaching Election.* By John Whipple. Providence: 1843. 8vo. pp. 16.
7. *Considerations on the Questions of the Adoption of a Constitution and Extension of Suffrage in Rhode Island.* By Elisha R. Potter. Boston: Thomas H. Webb & Co. 1842. 8vo. pp. 64.
8. *A Reply to the Letter of the Honorable Marcus Morton, late Governor of Massachusetts, on the Rhode Island Question.* By One of the Rhode Island People. Providence: 1842. 8vo. pp. 32.

The disturbances in Rhode Island are ended. The new form of civil government, the establishment of which created a revolutionary scene of the most exciting character, actually kindling a civil war within the limits of the State, and menacing the tranquillity of the Union, has gone quietly into operation, hardly a show of opposition being maintained against it. The friends of law and order, as they styled themselves, have achieved a signal victory, and they have not made an ungenerous use of it towards their vanquished opponents. They have wisely tempered justice with mercy, and not allowed the angry passions, which were somewhat stifled by defeat, to be again exasperated by privation and punishment. These passions, therefore, have in a great measure subsided, although a bitter recollection is left in the minds of many, which is kept alive by the evident exultation of the triumphant party. The fire has burned out, though the ashes are not yet cold.

It is a good time, then, to take a calm historical view of the matter, and to extract from it whatever lessons of political wisdom it may be calculated to afford. The question which lies at the bottom of the controversy is one of absorbing interest for every inhabitant of this country, and for every student of the nature and effects of a free government. It is of a speculative character, so far as it involves the problem respecting the origin and rightful existence of every form of civil polity; and it is practical, so far as the changeable nature of our political institutions allows it to

come up from time to time, and to be discussed with especial reference to proposed essential modifications of the fundamental laws of the States. The recent occurrences in Rhode Island afford a precedent and an illustration to be used in all future controversies of the like character. The decision in this case must exert an important influence on all future decisions of similar questions. It is well, therefore, to consider it now, when the excitement immediately attending the affair has ceased, and before the points at issue are obscured, and the discussion perplexed, by the passions aroused by another incipient revolution in State politics.

The question has little bearing on the present strife of parties in the United States. Whigs and Democrats were arrayed indifferently on either side of the contest in Rhode Island, and in the eagerness with which they engaged in this local warfare, they seemed to forget or to spurn the ties which bound them to the two great parties that divided the whole country. The civil war severed all attachments to parties in national politics, just as, in many cases, it ruptured all family ties, and arrayed brother against brother, and father against son. Not till a comparatively late period in the struggle, did the managers of the old parties in the other States attempt to lay hold of this local contest, and to convert it into what is now usually termed, in the jargon of the day, "political capital" for their own purposes. With this attempted application and management of the dispute, we have nothing to do or to say. The question does not concern a tariff, or a bank, or internal improvements, or the distribution of the public lands. It relates solely to the extension of the right of suffrage, the duty of obedience to existing forms of government, the stability of our political institutions, and the right of revolution. We have a right to consider it, therefore, without abandoning that neutral position in respect to the politics of the day, which this Journal has always studiously maintained.

When the connexion between Great Britain and her American Colonies was broken by the Declaration of Independence, the people of this country did not at once abandon all their civil institutions, and fall back into a state of nature, there to begin the process of forming a government anew and from the very foundations of social life. They adhered closely to their old usages and institutions, their

attachment to them appearing from the very fact, that it was only the violation of these ancient forms and privileges by the arbitrary conduct of the British ministry, which produced the separation from England. The people availed themselves of their newly acquired freedom, not to pull down their old houses, and build new ones, but to restore and repair the ancient homestead. The Colonies retained their independent position with respect to each other, the old boundary lines being in every case preserved. The only difference was, that as they were formerly united only by the tie of common allegiance, so they were now held together only by concert and agreement upon measures for mutual defence. New England maintained her primitive divisions into townships, and the established forms of transacting business in them, through the primary assemblies of the people. The inhabitants of the Southern Colonies preserved their old county lines, their parishes, and their more centralized forms of civil administration. Over the whole country, the great body of the common law was preserved intact, merely the unnecessary adjuncts being cut away, by casting off allegiance to the crown, and no longer acknowledging the supremacy of parliament. The courts of law remained open, and the general organization of the judiciary was left undisturbed.

In those Colonies to which the crown had not expressly granted a charter of liberties, or to which the grant was so narrow, that the local government was constantly checked and controlled by English authority, and the administration of affairs was made quite dependent on the action of the English ministry, the dissolution of the union with Great Britain created a necessity of organizing the government anew, so that it might be administered by itself. A new establishment was needed for the exercise of the new powers acquired by the assumption of independence. The necessity was perceived, and measures were promptly taken to meet it. While the war still raged, and the issue of it was yet uncertain, while the smoke of battle still hung over the plains, and the cannon thundered in the distance, the people went calmly to work to appoint delegates, to hold conventions, and to form and establish new constitutions of government. Never was manifested a more sublime confidence in the ultimate triumph of a just cause. The people never doubted the

issue of the struggle. While every limb was yet braced and every muscle strained in the contest, they quietly made preparations for the state of things that was to ensue, when Great Britain should acknowledge her defeat, and the Americans should take their stand among the independent nations of the earth. Peace was not declared till 1783; New Hampshire formed a constitution in 1775; New Jersey, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina, in 1776, the first three before the date of the Declaration of Independence; Georgia and New York, in 1777; Massachusetts, in 1780. The forms of government thus established were not arbitrary and novel, created by mere speculation, and dependent for success on future experiment. *They were founded on existing institutions;* they recognized preëxistent rights; they authorized ancient customs. They supplied omissions, it is true; but they made no unnecessary innovations. They were the old forms of polity, adopted by the first settlers on this continent, with such modifications only as were rendered necessary by the transition from a state of partial, to one of perfect, independence. They were not made by philosophers and theorists, but by practical men.

It would not be a difficult task to analyze the constitutions first established by each of the thirteen Colonies, especially those of New England, and to trace almost every important enactment in them to provisions in the old charters, or to privileges tacitly granted by the crown, or to customs founded on long prescription. We shall have occasion hereafter to consider more particularly the doctrines and the practice of the men of the American Revolution. Our only purpose here is to point out the unanimity of opinion and conduct, in this respect, of all the Colonies at the time when they emancipated themselves from British rule; — to show, that while some adopted what we are accustomed to consider as "new" constitutions, and some did not, all adhered, with greater or less fidelity, *as the case required*, to the forms and institutions with which they were familiar from long experiment, and which were endeared to them by old associations. We can characterize their practice in a word, by saying, that it was the very *opposite* of that of the French theorists, who, from 1789 till 1800, successively formed and annihilated

merely speculative constitutions, with such marvellous rapidity, for their unhappy and distracted country.

It was the good fortune of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that, for a long period before the Revolution, even from the time of their first settlement, they had enjoyed essentially republican forms of government. They obtained charters from the crown, respectively in 1662 and the following year, which, in fact, with merely nominal reservations, empowered the people to govern themselves. Chalmers, a royalist writer of the Revolutionary period, objects to these charters as establishing "a mere democracy, or rule of the people." Governor Bernard, in his private correspondence with the British ministry,* speaks of "the two republics of Rhode Island and Connecticut," and says there will be no security for the prerogative in the other Colonies, so long as these two "democratic governments" are allowed to exist. That such language was properly applied to them appears on the very face of the charters, which, in truth, authorized the people *to choose all their own officers, and enact all their own laws.* "The laws of these States," says Grahame, the able and impartial historian of America, "were not subject to the negative, nor the judgment of their tribunals to the review, of the king." Nay, "so perfectly democratic were their constitutions, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the Assembly." These were the great privileges they enjoyed, and which distinguished them above every other Colony in America. There was no necessity, therefore, for amending or abrogating the charters, when the union with England was dissolved. The merely formal limitations of the power of the Colonists, — the provision, for instance, that their laws and ordinances should be "not contrary and repugnant unto,† but as near as may be agreeable to, the laws of this our realm of England," — then expired of themselves,

* *Manuscript Records of the Board of Trade*, from copies obtained by a friend, which he has kindly allowed us to examine.

† "There were no regular means of ascertaining this conformity, these States not being obliged, like Massachusetts, to transmit their laws to England. On a complaint from an inhabitant of Connecticut, aggrieved by the operation of a particular law, it was declared by the king in council, 'that their law concerning dividing land inheritance of an intestate was contrary to the law of England and void'; but the Colony paid no regard to this declaration." *Grahame*, I. 421.

and from the necessity of the case. After the Revolution, the people continued, as they had done before, to "admit freemen, choose officers, make laws and ordinances, array the martial force of the Colony for the common defence, enforce martial law, and exercise other important powers and prerogatives."* In so doing, they conformed to the practice of all the other Colonies at the same epoch, by adhering as closely as possible to their ancient rights, usages, and institutions. They preserved both the substance and the form of the constituted body politic throughout the convulsions of the Revolutionary period. During that storm, they did not sink or abandon the ship; they only deposed the commander, and changed the flag.

Although these charters were granted by Charles the Second, they derived their whole force and efficacy within the Colonies themselves from the formal and voluntary acceptance of them by the people. They were not imposed upon the Colonists, but were solicited by them; they were granted, or allowed, and not enacted, by the sovereign power. The drafts were made by the Colonial agents, acting under the instructions of their constituents; they were sanctioned by the monarch at their solicitation. After the Revolution in 1660, the people of Rhode Island thought their old charter, procured by Roger Williams in 1643, having been obtained from the parliament under the Commonwealth, would not be respected by the king; and they therefore appointed Mr. John Clarke, who was then in England, to be their agent "for the preservation of their *chartered rights and privileges.*" He succeeded in his mission, and a new instrument was granted by the king. This new charter of Rhode Island was received in November, 1663, by the Court of Commissioners at Newport, "at a very great meeting and assembly of the freemen of the Colony." It was then accepted, ratified, and made the fundamental law of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations. "Thanks to the King, thanks to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and thanks and a gratuity of one hundred pounds to Mr. Clarke, their agent, were *unanimously voted.*" A more expressive and striking scene of a people forming a government for themselves, and making it binding on them-

* The language is that of Judge Story, who thus enumerates the powers which the people of Rhode Island exercised under the charter. *Commentaries on the Constitution.* Abridged edition. p. 38.

selves and their posterity, was never witnessed. The next day after the charter was received, the old government surrendered to the new.

Of course, the fundamental law of the body politic, thus formed and solemnly ratified, was to continue until abrogated by the same power which created it. This power was a formal vote of the freemen of the Colony, at a meeting legally called and authorized. The government and the charter ratified by that vote *did* continue, till it became the oldest constitutional charter in the world. "This charter of government," says Mr. Bancroft, writing in 1836, "constituting, as it then seemed, a pure democracy, and establishing a political system which few besides the Rhode Islanders themselves believed to be practicable, is still in existence;" and "nowhere in the world have life, liberty, and property been safer than in Rhode Island." During the reign of James the Second, and the arbitrary rule of Sir Edmund Andros, it was suspended, but not abrogated, nor forfeited. After the revolution of 1688, the Colony resumed it, and continued to maintain and exercise its powers down to a very recent period. Even the crown lawyers and the other favorers of the prerogative, who were then numerous and active, who succeeded at this time in destroying the old charter of Massachusetts, and who hated the "democratic governments" of Rhode Island and Connecticut, could not, on the ground of the acts of James and the change in the dynasty at home, destroy these charters, or prevent them from continuing in effect.

If the revolution of 1688 did not annul the charters, so neither did the revolution of 1776. At both periods, there was a change of the sovereign power in the state; at the former, it was transferred, contrary to custom and the usual course of law, from one person to another; at the latter, it was taken away from an individual, and vested in the state itself; that is, in the constituted body politic, — "the people." George the Third forfeited his power in America in the same way in which James the Second lost his throne in England, — by arbitrary and oppressive acts, done in violation of law. But the constitution and the charter survived both these shocks. The Bill of Rights adopted in the former case embodies nearly the same essential principles as our own Declaration of Independence. It recognized the

power of the state to change its sovereign, without being obliged at the same time to destroy itself, or to resolve the body politic into its primitive elements, and to begin the work of forming society and government anew. In England, the monarch was dethroned, or — in the more gentle but lying phrase of the day — he had "abdicated"; and parliament assumed the power to absolve Englishmen from the duty of allegiance to him, and to confer the crown upon William and Mary. They did not go about forming a new constitution, and organizing a new government. Their work was not destructive, but conservative. They did not need even to reaffirm preëxistent statutes and principles, except those few the authority of which had been marred or violated by the arbitrary conduct of the Stuarts, and which were therefore specified, and enacted over again, as it were, in the Bill of Rights. Their silence about new forms proved that they recognized the old, which, having once been formally established, were to continue to exist until they should be as formally abrogated. Therefore, the constitution at home and the charters in the Colonies — those of them, at least, which had not been positively annulled by the decree of a court of law — continued to exist and to preserve their binding force; and neither Jacobites, crown lawyers, nor patriots questioned their legal authority.

The case was precisely the same at the time of the American Revolution. The people of Rhode Island and Connecticut did not annul their charters at this period, for they were attached to these instruments, which had been the guardians of their liberties and their rights for more than a century, and had made them the envy of the surrounding Colonies. They did not enact or accept them over again, for such an act would have implied, that these instruments had possessed no rightful force or legal efficacy for the past. The Colonies became independent States just as children become men; they did not forfeit their birthright because they had attained their majority. Under these charters, Rhode Island and Connecticut became parties to the Declaration of Independence. This new deed of their liberties, the "Magna Charta" of America, was signed by delegates appointed to Congress, in behalf of these Colonies, by the General Assemblies therein legally constituted, according to old usage. These delegates, by signing the Declaration,

did not destroy or annul their respective governments at home. Such an act would have been suicidal, for their own authority as delegates was derived from these governments. They were not chosen for such a purpose, nor were they subsequently empowered to effect it. They were appointed to consult with the delegates from the other Colonies for the common welfare, and if need were, to throw off a foreign yoke ; but not to cancel the safeguards of their domestic liberties, and the fundamental laws of the bodies politic whom they represented.

Under these charters, also, Rhode Island and Connecticut became parties to the Confederation of 1778. They entered into this league, not as mere aggregations of individuals, bound together by no tie but the interests of the moment ; but as sovereign States, legally constituted, formally governed, and acting by their appointed representatives. Under the same charters, also, the legislatures of these States called conventions of the people, who accepted the Federal Constitution of 1787, and thus became members of our present union. A new law was thus ratified in the same manner as the charters had been, — by conventions legally called and empowered to represent the whole people. This new law, in a certain sense, acted over the old governments of the several States, without displacing or destroying them. When Rhode Island signified her adherence to the Constitution in 1790, she received from the other parties to that instrument the guaranty of "a republican form of government," and an assurance of protection "against invasion and against domestic violence." Of course, those other parties, by admitting this State into the union, recognized her form of polity and her civil administration, as then established, as "a republican government." Otherwise, they were bound by this guaranty instantly to fit out troops, or adopt other measures, to create or restore the republicanism of that government.

Under the charters thus ratified and confirmed, not only by the people of Rhode Island and Connecticut, but by the authorities of the whole union, these two States continued to exist and to be governed for a long period. Connecticut retained her charter till 1818, when some changes being required by the voice of the people, legal measures were taken in due form, under the authority of the legislature, and in conformity to the practice in other States, to form a new

constitution, which was accepted and ratified by the people, and went peaceably into effect. Rhode Island retained hers till 1843, when, in the same manner, she formed and adopted a new constitution, which is now in operation. It is to the history of the contest which preceded this alteration in her form of government, that we are now to direct our attention.

But before we attempt to give a brief sketch of these occurrences, it is necessary to consider what was the law and the practice upon that point under the old government, on which the whole controversy turned ; we mean the right of suffrage.* When Roger Williams and his associates formed a settlement at Providence, in 1636, they incorporated themselves into a "town fellowship." The earliest records of their proceedings, which are now extant, contain the following entry, under the date of August 20th, 1637.

"We, whose names are here under, desirous to inhabit the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders and agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, *masters of families*, incorporated together into a town fellowship, *and others whom they shall admit* unto them, only in civil things."

The last clause, "only in civil things," marks the steadfast attachment of Roger Williams and his associates to the principles of religious liberty and the freedom of conscience. William Coddington and his company formed another settlement on the island of Rhode Island in 1637–8, and agreed to the following compact.

"We, whose names are underwritten, do swear solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, to *incorporate ourselves into a body politic*, and, as He shall help us, will submit our persons, our lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those most perfect and absolute laws of His, given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

* We are indebted for many of the facts which follow, relating to the early history of Rhode Island, to an excellent memorial, respecting the suffrage question, addressed to the General Assembly early in 1842, and soon afterwards published in a pamphlet of twenty-four pages. It has no signature, but was written, we believe, by Judge Pitman, and bears for title only the following inscription : "To the Members of the General Assembly of Rhode Island." We are also under considerable obligation for historical facts to an admirable pamphlet on the same subject, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, written by Mr. Elisha R. Potter, now a member of the House of Representatives of the United States.

This company declared, in 1641–2, that their government was "a democracie, or popular government," and that the power to make laws, and depute ministers to execute them, was "in the *body of freemen*, orderly assembled, or a major part of them." They admitted to the elective franchise from time to time such other persons as came to join them, and "*upon orderly presentation were found meet for the service of the body, and no just exception against them.*" None but those regularly admitted were allowed to take part in the affairs of government, although it appears, from the separate lists kept of the freemen and the inhabitants, that many of the latter were not admitted. The two settlements, at Providence and on the island, were united into one, in 1643, under the first charter; and in 1647, they admitted into their company a third settlement, which had been formed at Warwick five years before. Thus it appears, that there were originally three distinct settlements in this State, entirely independent of each other. The charter obtained in 1663 required, that the General Assembly should be composed of the Governor, Deputy Governor, the Assistants, and "such of the freemen of the said Company as shall be so as aforesaid elected or deputed;" and it authorized the Assembly "to choose, nominate, and appoint such and so many other persons as they shall think fit, and shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said company and body politic, and them into the same to admit."

It seems, therefore, that the charter confined the right of suffrage to the "freemen" of the Company, as was formerly the case in Massachusetts; but the power rested entirely with the General Assembly to determine what qualifications should be required of a freeman. In other words, any person might be admitted free of the Company by those who were freemen, or voters, already. In 1665, the General Assembly, in pursuance of the authority thus granted to them, declared, "that all men *of competent estates*," and possessing "sufficient testimony of their fitness and qualifications as shall by the General Assembly be deemed satistactory," should be admitted as freemen, and that no others should enjoy the like privilege. There was no need of requiring the ownership of real estate as a qualification, for, at that period, nearly all the permanent inhabitants of the Col-

ony were freeholders. By an act passed in February, 1723 – 4, the voter was required to possess real estate valued at £ 100, or that would rent for forty shillings *per annum*, or to be the eldest son of such a voter. In 1729, a law was passed, requiring that the freehold qualification should be of the value of £ 200, or £ 10 annual rent. Sixteen years afterwards, freemen were required to have freeholds of the value of £ 400, or £ 20 annual rent, "being their own real estate, or to be the eldest son of such a freeholder." In August, 1760, the value of the estate was required to be at least £ 40, lawful money, or forty shillings rent. In 1798, it was established at $ 134, or seven dollars a year; and at this rate it remained till the adoption of the new constitution, in 1843.

"All these seeming inconsistencies," says Mr. Potter, "are easily explained by recurring to the history of the emission of paper money made by the Colonies. The qualifications of 1723 – 4, 1729 – 30, and 1746, are in old tenor, so called, the value of which was constantly depreciating. The qualification of 1760 is in lawful money, and, in 1798, was merely changed into dollars, at six shillings to a dollar."

The limitation of the right of suffrage to freeholders and the eldest sons of freeholders was but one of the grievances which produced the recent contest in Rhode Island. Another cause of complaint was the inequality of representation in the lower House of Assembly. The charter determined the number of representatives of the several towns by an arbitrary rule, without reference to future increase of population, or change of circumstances. The apportionment was probably correct in principle when it was adopted; but being continued without change for one hundred and seventy years, it became very unequal. Newport, which was the chief town in 1660, had four representatives; Providence, then a place of small importance, had but two; Warwick and Portsmouth had four each, and every other town two. But in 1824, the population of Providence was more than double that of Newport. Several towns which were entitled to only two representatives each, had twice as many inhabitants as Portsmouth, which sent four. The county of Providence, which included ten towns out of the thirty-one in the State, and had three fifths of the entire popula-

tion, sent twenty-two representatives, while the other counties sent fifty. The upper House of Assembly, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and ten Senators, was chosen annually by "general ticket," and therefore equally represented the opinions of the majority of the voters.

The history of the several attempts to redress these grievances by a change in the fundamental laws of the State may be divided, for convenience, into three periods. The first extends from the adoption of the Federal Constitution by Rhode Island, in 1790, to the year 1824. The second, beginning in 1824, comes down to the publication of what was usually called the "Landholders' Constitution," in February, 1842. The third period embraces the events which occurred subsequently to the date last mentioned, and ends with the establishment of the new government in May, 1843.

During the first period, the people appeared satisfied with the existing form of government and the established laws, and no anxiety was expressed for a change. A motion was made in the House of Representatives, in 1799, to call a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution, one delegate to be allowed to every thousand inhabitants in a town. The motion prevailed by a small majority, but the bill was probably lost in the Senate, as we hear nothing of the project afterwards. In 1811, when there was an active political contest in the State, and the Democratic and Federal parties successively obtained the control of the government during the same year, a bill was prepared for the extension of suffrage, and it passed the Senate; but it was defeated in the other House, or was never presented there, and the scheme was not revived. In 1819, and the three following years, Mr. Dorr affirms, that the subject of a new constitution was again agitated, with a view to removing the inequalities of suffrage and representation; but we find no evidence of the fact, and the movement, therefore, could not have been a general one.

During this period of more than thirty years, the people appeared to be well contented with their existing institutions. They were even strongly attached to the charter and the laws, that were now hallowed by so many old associations; under which their ancestors had enjoyed the largest liberty, while nominally subject to a foreign monarch; which had

guided them through the storms of the Revolution, and made them members of the great federative republic ; which had kept their fathers' feet from stumbling, and had been a shield to them in their own years of infancy and childhood. The inequality in the representation of the towns was not yet very marked, and even where it was most apparent, it was not felt as a practical grievance. The towns were few in number, and the opposite extremities of this little State being hardly fifty miles apart, a contrariety or even a division of interests could not exist between the several communities inhabiting different portions of it, and unequal legislation was consequently impossible. The people were mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and owned the lands which they cultivated. A great majority of them, therefore, were freeholders, or belonged to families the heads of which were freeholders. The right of suffrage seemed to be in the proper hands, when it was vested in the owners of the soil and the heads of the families that formed the major part of the population.

But during the second period, some remarkable changes took place in the character of the population, and corresponding alterations in the fundamental laws at last appeared inevitable. Manufactures were introduced, and the inhabitants of some towns, which enjoyed facilities for this branch of industry, increased with astonishing rapidity. A division of interests was created between the different portions of the State by this variety of employment, and the more populous towns, the growth of which had been fostered by the new direction of labor and capital, became uneasy at observing the advantage which their agricultural neighbours possessed in the control of the Assembly. A larger amount of capital, moreover, was vested in personal estate. Some men of large fortunes owned not a foot of ground, and, consequently, had not the right to vote. It was very natural, that they should be jealous of the small farmers, who had now almost the entire management of the politics of the State. Then a loose and shifting population, composed of laborers in search of employment, was introduced into some towns by the growth of manufactures, and though they had no hold upon the State, and could hardly be considered as permanent residents in it, they were unwilling to live without the political influence which they had enjoyed in their former homes.

While such causes were at work to produce discontent with the existing laws, it is much to be regretted, that the freeholders did not soon perceive the necessity of granting a moderate extension of the right of suffrage. The constitution under the charter had worked well; but a new state of things was growing up under it, and republican institutions must be flexible enough to adapt themselves to the changing circumstances of the times. Seasonable reforms prevent sweeping ones. "A froward retention of custom," says Lord Bacon, "is as turbulent a thing as an innovation. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived." A reasonable and judicious reduction of the qualifications required of a voter, if offered early in the period we are now considering, would have been satisfactory to the people, would have robbed the Suffrage party of any pretence or excuse for their illegal movements, and would have obviated the necessity of a more radical change, effected a few years later, amidst the tempests of a revolution. We do not say, that the Assembly should have made this concession *as a matter of right*. There was no *right* in the case, as will be hereafter demonstrated. But reform had become *expedient*, and it was unwise to withstand it so long. The excuse for the dilatory action of the freemen is to be found in the repose and apparent indifference of the people of the State respecting the whole subject. Agitation on the topic was long deferred, but it came at last like a whirlwind, and had wellnigh made wreck of the government and the laws. A deceitful calm preceded the movement. Petitions on this matter to the Assembly were few and far between, and it was but seldom discussed in the public journals. But the demagogues were at work, and the day of contest was at hand.

A convention was called by the General Assembly in 1824, for the purpose of forming a written constitution. The delegates were chosen by the freemen, or qualified voters. They came together in June, and completed their work in little more than a week. The constitution, which they devised, was adapted only to remedy the inequality in the representation of the towns, the qualifications for suffrage being retained as they were before, except that the right of

voting was taken away from the eldest sons of the freeholders. A clause was proposed to allow those who were not landholders to vote ; but it was supported only by three delegates, and therefore was not inserted in the draft of the constitution. The representation was made nearly equal, no town being allowed less than two, nor more than seven representatives, the number being varied between these limits according to the population. This constitution was submitted to the qualified voters, and was rejected by a majority of more than fifteen hundred, owing chiefly, as was supposed, to the jealousy which the other towns entertained of the city of Providence, the influence of which in the Assembly would have been much increased, had the proposed instrument been adopted. The whole vote was a very small one, being less than five thousand, when the whole number of voters in the State was at least eight thousand. This fact seems to show, that there was but little excitement on the subject, and that the people generally did not desire a change.

The matter was not allowed to rest, however, and a new interest in it being awakened in the city of Providence, in 1829, several petitions and memorials respecting an extension of the right of suffrage were presented to the General Assembly. They were referred to a Committee, and, in the June session of that year, a very able report upon them was made, written, we believe, by the late Mr. Hazard. The question in respect both to right and policy was thoroughly discussed, and it was strenuously denied, that the proposed change was either equitable or proper. This report was accepted, and the petitioners had leave to withdraw.

We hear nothing more of any formal action on the subject till 1834, though the topic was discussed from time to time during the interval, especially by those citizens of Providence who were not freeholders. Hitherto, the agitation had been entirely confined to this class of persons, the expediency of a change finding but few advocates among the freemen. But several members of the bar now united themselves to the party, improved its organization, and gave more method and respectability to its proceedings. Among these persons was Thomas W. Dorr, who was afterwards to act a very distinguished part in the matter. Under their guidance, the party determined to call a State convention, to

draw up the outlines of a constitution, lay them before the people, and then attempt to support them at the polls. The convention met, and recommended certain provisions in regard to the ratio of representation and the elective franchise. These were designed only to act upon public opinion, the whole proceedings being informal, as the convention was not authorized by the legal authorities. The desired effect was not produced, no decided impression being made upon the freeholders, and the party could never muster more than seven hundred votes out of eight thousand. In 1838, after a resolute struggle of four years, this "Constitutional party," as it was then termed, became extinct, after the members of it had given great moral power to the cause which they advocated, though they had produced hardly a perceptible effect on the opinions of the freemen.

Meantime, the General Assembly were not idle. They called another convention, in 1834, to amend the charter; but when Mr. Dorr, who was then a member of the House, proposed as an amendment, that all resident inhabitants of the State, who had paid a tax on real or personal estate valued at $ 134, should be allowed to vote in the choice of delegates, the proposition was defeated by a vote of fifty-eight to four. The convention met, but several towns were not represented in it, and the members who were present probably did not intend to accomplish any thing. Before the draft of a constitution was completed, the body adjourned for want of a quorum, and never came together again.

No other decided movement was made till 1840. A very small minority in the House of Representatives made a motion, from time to time, to amend the charter, or to extend the elective franchise; but after very little debate, it was invariably voted down. Petitions on the subject were occasionally presented, but copies of them were not preserved, and it is, therefore, impossible to tell how numerous were the signers. It is not likely, that the number was great. The State was agitated by the discussion of national politics, the subject of a tariff, or the choice of a President, — and the attention of the inhabitants was thus diverted from their local concerns. Many persons, who were in favor of an extension of suffrage, refused to manifest their opinions at the polls, lest they should disturb the organization or the movements of the national party to which they belonged. This

reluctance to act showed that they felt no deep and abiding interest in the subject ; otherwise, they would not have been diverted from it by the contests of parties, the issue of which could not materially affect their immediate interests. We repeat it, then, the restrictions on the elective franchise and the unequal representation of the towns were not felt as practical grievances. The operation of the laws was equal, taxes were moderate, justice was impartially administered, and no person had any direct cause of complaint. He might murmur because he was not allowed to govern others ; but he could not assert, that he was ill governed himself. He felt a more lively interest, therefore, in the contest between the friends of General Harrison and Mr. Van Buren, than in the amendment of the constitution of his own State.

But after the great contest for the Presidency, in 1840, was ended, the agitation about the right of suffrage in Rhode Island revived at once, and almost immediately assumed a threatening aspect. A "Suffrage Association" was formed at Providence, composed mostly of persons who were not owners of real estate, and the whole machinery of discussion and turmoil was put in motion. Frequent meetings were held at the Town Hall, angry and exciting speeches were delivered, badges denoting membership were worn in public, processions displaying banners and accompanied with music marched through the streets, and every artifice was used to swell their apparent numbers and terrify their opponents. A person ignorant of the history of the case might have supposed, that some new question had arisen, some wrong suddenly discovered, or injury lately done, instead of thinking that the whole excitement depended on a question quite as old as the first settlement of the Colony. Other associations, auxiliary to the parent body, were formed in different parts of the State ; and lecturers were sent from Providence to the several towns, to make addresses to the people, and kindle their passions in support of the cause. The party avowed their determination to form a new constitution and government, without the aid of the legislature or the other constituted authorities, and to support their measures by force, or by an appeal to the legal tribunals, on the ground that the people were sovereign, and had a right to act for themselves, without regard to usages or laws.

Before we trace their proceedings further, it will be well

to consider separately the action of the established government down to the end of the period with which we are now concerned. The General Assembly came together in January, 1841, when petitions were presented to it, signed by less than six hundred persons, praying for the abrogation of the charter, an extension of the right of suffrage, and a more equal representation of the towns. This brought up the whole subject for discussion, and it was finally resolved, that delegates should be chosen for a new convention, to be held at Providence on the first Monday of November, 1841, with full powers to frame a new constitution. At the June session of the legislature, resolutions were adopted to allow the towns to be represented in the proposed convention by a number of delegates proportioned to their population, but restricting the choice of the delegates to the freemen, or qualified voters.

The convention met at the appointed time, and on the question of suffrage, at once decided to admit persons to vote who were not freeholders. But they found it difficult to determine how large an amount of personal property should be considered as a qualification for the elective franchise, and they finally adjourned to February 14th, 1842, in order to ascertain more fully the wishes of their constituents on this important point. When they met again, they soon completed the draft of a constitution, which gave the right of suffrage to "every white male native citizen of the United States," of the age of twenty-one years, who had resided in the State for two years, and in the town or city six months. In respect to the natives of foreign countries, who had been naturalized in the United States, the freehold qualification was retained. The Representatives were distributed among the towns quite equitably on the basis of the population. To make the list of concessions complete, it was determined, both by the convention and the General Assembly, that "all persons who shall be qualified to vote under the provisions of [this] Constitution, shall be qualified to vote upon the question of the adoption of said Constitution." It was to be submitted to the people, for ratification or rejection, on the 21st, 22d, and 23d days of March, 1842.

It must be admitted, that this instrument, commonly called the "Landholders' Constitution," was as bountiful a concession to popular rights as any party could reasonably de-

sire, and that it established a frame of government as liberal as any which existed in any State in the union. In respect to the elective franchise, the ratio of representation, and the mode proposed for its adoption, it granted all that had been claimed by any party or individual, down to the commencement of 1840. Its adoption would have remedied all existing difficulties, and would have insured the peace and prosperity of the State for a long period to come.

We return to the history of the proceedings of the Suffrage associations during the year 1841. On the 5th of May, they held at Newport what is called, in the political jargon of the day, a "mass" convention, — meaning, we suppose, a meeting of the "masses" of the people. How many were present at it, we are not informed; but those who did come passed many resolutions, and made many speeches, but adopted no definitive measures. They held an adjourned meeting at Providence, on the 5th of July, when they resolved by their own sovereign authority, without any sanction of law or usage, and without having been even nominally appointed or delegated by the towns to perform such an act, "that a convention of the people at large should be called for the formation of a *republican* constitution." They recommended, that all the towns should choose delegates, in the proportion of one to every thousand inhabitants, to meet at Providence on the 4th of October, "for the purpose aforesaid."* Meetings were held, in pursuance of this notice, "in *nearly all* the towns of the State," of course, without any legal formalities, any person taking a part in them, and casting a vote, who saw fit. The whole number of these nominal votes is not known, there being no record of the proceedings; but it was said to be about 7,000, the whole population of the State being rather more than 108,000. "A large majority" of the delegates thus chosen met in convention, and after one adjournment, completed the draft of a constitution, which they determined to submit "to the people" for adoption on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days of December. The convention likewise assumed the power to determine who should be allowed to vote for or against their constitution. The voters were required to be Ameri-

* We are indebted for most of these facts and citations to "Governor Dorr's inaugural message to his legislature, on the 5th of May, 1842."

can citizens, twenty-one years of age, and having their domicile in the State, "but without any limitation of sex, color, place of nativity, or any fixed period of residence whatever."* Of course, no fault could be found with such a right of suffrage on the score of illiberality.

In the constitution itself, which was commonly called the "People's Constitution," the elective franchise was a little more restricted. The right of voting was given to "every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided in this State for one year, and in the town where he votes six months." With the exception of requiring one year's residence, instead of two, and admitting naturalized citizens to vote without a freehold qualification, this provision coincided with the corresponding one in the "Landholder's Constitution." These two exceptions are evidently of slight importance, and in nearly every other important particular, the two instruments were alike. Open meetings were to be held in the several towns, on the three specified days in December, to receive the votes of those who came personally to accept or reject the "People's Constitution"; and those who, "*from sickness or other causes*, may be unable to attend and vote," were requested to write their names on the back of a ticket, cause it to be certified by the signature of another person, and send it to the meeting on either of the three days next succeeding the three days already mentioned. The business of receiving votes was extended in this anomalous way through a whole week.

During the first three days, about 9,000 votes were collected from the hands of the voters themselves, though with how much caution the pretensions of such voters were scrutinized in these informal and illegal meetings, we are left to imagine. During the remaining three days, through the privilege of going about to the citizens' houses and obtaining their votes, the *names* of about 5,000 more were handed in, making an aggregate of 14,000. As the adult white male population of the State was supposed to be about 22,000, the friends of extended suffrage at once declared, that their constitution was supported by the votes of more than three fifths of the people. That the grossest frauds were practis-

* Potter's *Considerations on the Rhode Island Question*, p. 19.

ed in order to obtain this nominal majority cannot be doubted, whether we consider the extravagant and unprecedented character of the plan for obtaining and counting the votes, the entire absence of legal guards and checks, and the fact that, on subsequent trials, under an elective franchise equally liberal, when the party used every effort to bring out their entire strength, for the undisputed control of the State was the prize at issue, they were never able to muster much more than half of the number which they claimed on this occasion. There was a show of fairness at the time, caused by offering all their votes, each of which was indorsed with the name of the person presenting it, for examination to the General Assembly; but that body, of course, took no notice of the proposal, as it did not recognize the legality of any part of the proceedings. "The People's convention," also, authorized the secretaries to copy the registry of the voters or the votes themselves, for the use of any person who applied for them. But when individuals began to take advantage of this permission, the "Suffrage Association" of Providence actually undertook to overrule the order of the convention, countermanded this authority, and prevented the issue of any more copies.

To give some idea of the gross character of the frauds which were practised, we extract a passage from Mr. Potter's pamphlet.

"In the town of Newport, they have long been charged with committing the greatest frauds, and the reason they have never attempted to disprove these charges is, probably, because they could not be refuted. They claimed to have obtained 1,207 votes for the people's constitution, of whom they say 317 were freemen.

"In making up the whole number of 1,207, they took the names of the soldiers at the United States fort, of the people at work for the government at Fort Adams, and of people who had been, for a long time, gone to sea, or absent from the State. And, from an actual and careful examination of the list of their voters, it is estimated by a person, who is probably better qualified to judge than any other man in that town, that not more than 750, at most, out of the 1,207, were qualified to vote even upon the very liberal terms of the people's constitution, which admitted foreigners to vote for it, and required no specific period of residence. And when, only three months afterwards, in March, 1842, the vote was taken upon the legal constitution, and every

person, who had resided in the State two years, was admitted to vote, and only foreigners and the transient population excluded, the people's party, notwithstanding they brought every man to the polls, could only obtain 361 votes against it. Here is a falling off from 1,207, when they took the vote in their own way, to 361, when it was taken in legal town meeting, where the votes were challenged, and the transient population excluded. And both parties together, at this same town meeting, could only obtain 1,091 votes, while the people's party claimed to have obtained for theirs, 1,207 votes.

"Again: they claim to have obtained, in Newport, 317 freemen for the people's constitution. The same gentleman, before referred to, who personally knows almost every freeman in the town, estimates that, at least, ninety of these were no freemen at all. And, of the others, a great number voted merely as an expression of opinion, and some for party purposes. How else, if there was no fraud, can it be accounted for, that, in the legal town meeting, where the very same freemen voted, subject, however, to a legal scrutiny, this vote fell off from 317 to 102, and that both parties together could only obtain 475. At the town meeting in December, the people's party had all their own way. The other was conducted according to law, although the same people voted, and every effort was made on both sides.

"Such frauds as these would be most likely to be committed in the cities and large manufacturing towns, such as Newport, Providence, Smithfield, Cumberland, Warwick, &c. In a great many of the country towns, the vote was probably very fairly conducted." — pp. 58, 59.

We have now come to the third period that we indicated, and the whole State seems to present "the confusion of king Agramant's camp." There are the government and the General Assembly, legally organized under the charter, exercising an authority which had not before been questioned for two hundred years, and firmly supported, for the time being, by the whole body of the freeholders, and a large portion of the other well informed and respectable inhabitants. There is the "People's Constitution," alleged to be sanctioned and adopted by a great majority of the entire population, and only waiting the short time appointed by its friends to be put in operation, and to claim absolute sovereignty in the State. There is the "Landholders' Constitution," abiding a verdict of approval or rejection, to be rendered in a few weeks by the whole body of voters empowered to act

under its provisions. If the true issue could have been presented at this time between the friends and the opponents of the illegal measures adopted by the Suffrage party, there is no question that this "Landholders' Constitution" would have been adopted by a considerable majority. But unluckily, many of the freeholders were so fanatically attached to the charter, that they resisted every attempt to place the government upon a new basis; and when the day of voting came, they either stayed away from the polls, or threw their votes against the new constitution, without reflecting, that such conduct in fact strengthened the hands of their greatest opponents. The Suffrage party, also, exerted themselves strenuously against it, and the consequence was, that the new instrument was defeated, though by a small majority. The numbers were 8,689 to 8,013. At least one thousand freeholders voted against it, for the reason we have just stated, and this number, being deducted from the larger vote, reduces it to a minority; and thus it is conclusively shown, even without reckoning the freemen who stayed away from the polls on the same grounds which induced many of their fellows to cast a negative vote, that the major part of the people, reckoned under a most liberal elective franchise, were opposed to what was facetiously denominated the "People's Constitution."

The result of this trial also established another curious fact; that the same party which boasted of obtaining a vote of 14,000 in December, when there were no checks or legal restrictions established at their informal assemblies, and consequently every person who pleased voted for himself or brought in a vote by proxy, when they came to another trial, only three months afterwards, under a law nearly or quite as liberal in determining the qualifications of the voters, but guarded by proper formalities, could not muster but about 7,600 votes. And we may mention here, that at several subsequent elections, when the same faction exerted their whole strength, they could throw but little more than 7,000 votes, which is about one third of what might be cast in the State under the present liberal constitution. It is now demonstrated, therefore, — what was believed from the outset, — that the friends of the *soidisant* "People's Constitution" never constituted more than one third of the people of the State.

The legal government was now still in the hands of the authorities established under the charter, and it was blindly and furiously opposed by a faction, that had just rejected a constitution *granting all that they had at first asked*, and who were now determined to establish by force an instrument of their own making, confessedly formed, "not only without the law, but against the law." Their conduct was as violent as their principles were unfounded and absurd. Flags were hung up in the streets of Providence and other places, bearing the motto, "The constitution is established, and it must be maintained." Meetings were held, and exciting speeches made, denouncing the government and the laws, and exhorting the members of the party to be ready with arms in their hands for a bloody contest in support of their principles. The flame was now fanned by the efforts of politicians in other States, eager to turn this excitement to their own advantage, and careless about the issue of a conflagration which seemed too distant to menace the buildings that sheltered *them*. The agitation was at its height. Families were divided, and brothers, fathers, and sons were arrayed on opposite sides. In short, a revolution was in progress; and for what? Because the insurgent party refused to accept, in legal form, from the hands of the constituted authorities, all that they demanded as their due; but were resolved to establish their claims in their own right, or by their own authority; and, if necessary, to vindicate their pretensions by an armed force, and all the atrocities of a civil war.

The alarm was now general throughout the State, though the focus of agitation was in Providence, where the opponents of the government mustered in greatest force, and were supported by deputations from the laboring population of the manufacturing villages in the neighbourhood, and along the course of the Blackstone. In the agricultural towns, the people, who were chiefly small farmers, were tranquil, and were strongly attached to the existing government. But they had friends and relatives in the city, and they knew not what might be the issue of the struggle, or how soon they might be subjected to a government created by a faction, and established by violence. The General Assembly was firm, and, at an extra session called in March, taking into view the resolutions already passed by the Suffrage party,

"That they will support their Constitution by all necessary means, and repel force by force," empowered the Governor to issue a proclamation, warning all good citizens against these illegal proceedings; and they authorized him "to adopt such measures as in his opinion may be necessary, during the recess of the legislature, to execute the laws, and preserve the State against domestic violence." They also passed the law called, in the vulgar phrase of their opponents, the "Algerine Act," making it a high offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any persons to act as officers in illegal town meetings, called for pretended elections, or to signify that they would accept office under such elections; and declaring further, that if any persons should attempt to exercise any legislative, executive, or ministerial functions of office in the State, by virtue of such pretended elections, or should assemble for the purpose of exercising such functions, they should be deemed guilty of treason, and be punished by imprisonment for life. It was also provided in the act, that the trials might be held in any part of the State, without regard to the county wherein the offence was committed.

Notwithstanding the terrors of this law, elections under the "People's Constitution" were held at the appointed time, on the 18th of April, in every town in the State, under such forms as the party saw fit to observe. It was rather difficult to find persons willing to serve, as many declined the dangerous honor. But the vacancies on the nomination list were filled as fast as they were created, and eventually, Thomas W. Dorr was chosen governor, all the executive offices were filled, a full Senate was chosen, and the great part of a House of Representatives. Less than 6,500 votes were cast on this occasion; while, at an ordinary election under the charter, a year or two before, more than 8,000 freemen voted. Which party, then, had the majority? About the same time, the legal elections took place, and the Whigs and Democrats of Rhode Island, forgetting their old disputes at this crisis, united under the name of the "Law and Order Party," chose Samuel W. King, Esq., governor, and filled the other offices about equally from their respective ranks. Thus, two sets of officers were chosen in the State, both bound to begin the exercise of their functions at the appointed time in May, their adherents being pledged to support them by all necessary means.

The Governor, thinking the crisis contemplated by the legislature had now arrived, made a formal requisition on the President of the United States for assistance, under that provision of the Federal Constitution which requires the national government to render aid to any State that is threatened with domestic violence. With the unanimous advice and consent of his cabinet, the President replied, in a firm but conciliatory tone, promising the required aid whenever any overt act of violence should be committed. We give the following extract from his letter to Governor King, dated April 11th, 1842.

"I have to assure your Excellency, that, should the time arrive, (and my fervent prayer is, that it may never come,) when an insurrection shall exist against the government of Rhode Island, and a requisition shall be made upon the Executive of the United States to furnish that protection which is guarantied to each State by the Constitution and laws, *I shall not be found to shrink from the performance of a duty which, while it would be the most painful, is at the same time the most imperative.* I have also to say, that, in such a contingency, the Executive could not look into real or supposed defects of the existing government, in order to ascertain whether some other plan of government proposed for adoption was better suited to the wants, and more in accordance with the wishes of any portion of her citizens. To throw the executive power of this government into any such controversy would be to make the President the armed arbitrator between the people of the different States and their constituted authorities, and might lead to an usurped power, dangerous alike to the stability of the State governments and the liberties of the people.

"*It will be my duty, on the contrary, to respect the requisitions of that government which has been recognized as the existing government of the State through all time past, until I shall be advised, in regular manner, that it has been altered and abolished, and another substituted in its place, by legal and peaceable proceedings, adopted and pursued by the authorities and people of the State.*"

Unappalled by this firm language, or by the union in opinion and action of the established authorities of the State and the whole nation against them, the misguided adherents of the Suffrage party continued their preparations for the contest. So menacing was their attitude, that another extra session of the General Assembly was called at Providence, on

the 25th of April, to make further provision for the emergency. A firm determination was manifested by this body to support the government, but as a new legislature was to meet in little more than a week at Newport, nothing was done at this session, which lasted only two days, except to authorize the Governor to take measures to protect the public property and to fill vacancies in the militia. The friends of law began now to prepare for defence. Arms and ammunition were obtained, disaffected companies were disbanded, volunteers were enrolled, men of all ages and occupations entered the ranks, frequent drills were held, and the city wore almost the appearance of a camp. Still, many persons hesitated, and the preparations were very incomplete. Some doubted whether the insurgents would dare to proceed to extremities ; some wished to remain neutral in the hour of peril, and then to swell the host of the victors ; and each desired that its opponent should be the first to strike a blow.

The 3d of May arrived, and the officers chosen under the "People's Constitution" assembled at Providence, to organize their government. They could not obtain possession of the State House, but they borrowed for the occasion an unfinished wooden building, of small pretensions in point of architecture, that had been intended for a foundery. A procession was formed, consisting of the executive officers and the legislature, with their adherents, and, under a military escort, it marched to this place of assembly. The guard was composed of five hundred men, armed with muskets and ball cartridges, and more than a thousand unarmed persons joined the ranks. The military mounted guard round the building during the hours of session, escorted the "Governor" to and from the place of meeting, and kept watch at his house during the night. Mr. Dorr delivered a formal message to his "Senators and Representatives," and the usual formalities of legislative meetings were observed, as far as the knowledge and experience of the parties would permit.

The "Governor" earnestly advised his party to adopt active measures at once to seize the State House and other public property ; but a majority of his legislature refused to take such a decisive step, and he has since bitterly complained of their vacillation and timidity at this time, which ruined the cause. His advice was certainly judicious, and if the

party had supported him with courage, they might have triumphed. The time for caution and deliberation had passed. By the terms of the "Algerine Act," they had all committed an overt act of treason, and the only proper alternative now was to go forward and fight, or to disband and submit to the penalties of the law. The friends of the legal government had not completed their preparations; they were almost stupefied at the audacity of the insurgents; and, as peaceable citizens, who had never before been called out of the quiet walks of life, they shrunk from a contest with desperate men, who had nothing to lose but their lives. *They*, also, are justly exposed to the charge of remissness and indecision at this crisis. Half a dozen of the ordinary minions of the law, armed only with a common warrant from a justice of the peace, we believe, might have arrested half of Dorr's "Assembly." A large portion of the insurgent troops had a greater dread of a constable than of a musket, and though they might have stood to their arms against a military force, they would probably have fled at the sight of a warrant.

But the proper hour for action was missed by both parties, and the contest was therefore protracted. The usurping legislature passed a few insignificant resolutions, made a show of repealing the "Algerine Act," and then, after a session of only two days, adjourned to July 5th. Meanwhile, the General Assembly elected by the freemen came together at Newport, May 4th, to organize the legal government for the ensuing year. Roused by the insulting conduct of the Suffrage faction, they determined to vindicate the dignity of the State, and to support the authority of the law, by vigorous measures. Another requisition for aid was sent to the President of the United States by their authority, the former one having been issued by the Governor alone. President Tyler answered as before, that assistance should be given as soon as any act of open violence should be committed; and the pledge was soon partially redeemed by sending two or three companies of United States troops to Newport, with orders, as it was understood, as soon as a blow was struck, to take an active part on the side of the legal government. Two members of Dorr's legislature from Newport were arrested immediately on their return to that city, on a charge of treason. Many other arrests were made at Providence,

on the same charge, of persons who had assumed legislative or executive functions. Great commotion ensued, and crowds of people attended the accused to the place of examination ; but only one attempt at a rescue was made, and that was stopped by the prudence of the person in custody. Dorr himself was surrounded by armed adherents, and, as it was supposed that an attempt to seize his person would lead to the shedding of blood, he was allowed to remain at liberty. He soon left the city, to seek for aid and countenance in New York and Washington.

The turmoil at Providence seemed to increase, and nearly all business was suspended. The most violent threats were uttered by the insurgent party, and the newspapers in their interest published the names of all the magistrates and other officers, who were active in making arrests, and mentioned their places of residence, with a hand pointing towards them, as if to guide the mob and the torch to their doors.* Governor King returned from Newport to Providence, and was escorted into the city by about three hundred soldiers, and six hundred citizens without arms. Active military preparations were continued on both sides. On the 16th of May, Dorr returned from New York, where he had made speeches to large assemblies of the populace, had received the gift of a sword, and had prepared a bombastic proclamation for the inhabitants of Rhode Island, promising to make their State the battle ground of American liberty. He entered Providence in a barouche drawn by four white horses, attended by nearly twelve hundred men, of whom two hundred and fifty were under arms. He took up his quarters at the house of Burrington Anthony, at Federal Hill, on the outskirts of the city, and was there guarded by his troops. His intention was openly avowed to seize the public property by force of arms, and emissaries were sent to bring in his armed adherents from the country, to swell the number of the forces. Probably three or four hundred were in this way collected, with two small field pieces ; and, by some unaccountable negligence on the side of the govern-

* "In recommending the massacre of all aristocrats, he [Marat] scrupled not to proclaim through his paper, the '*Ami du Peuple*,' that 270,000 heads must fall by the guillotine: *and he published lists of persons whom he consigned to the popular vengeance and destruction by their names, description, and places of residence.*" Brougham's *Statesmen*, 3d series, p. 107.

ment party, a company of them were allowed to come down into the city on the afternoon of Tuesday the 17th, and carry off, without resistance, two brass six pounders from one of the armories.

Meanwhile, the friends of the government were not idle. The citizens of Providence were requested to prepare for the defence of the city, and arms were furnished them for the purpose. The shops were closed, the business at the college was suspended. Professors and students, judges who had grown gray on the bench, and old men who had never before shouldered a musket, joined the ranks, and submitted to the drill. Guards were stationed at proper places, and patrols were established for the streets at night. Information being received, that the Arsenal, where a large quantity of arms and ammunition was stored, was to be the first object of attack, a company of infantry and one of artillery were stationed there, in addition to the ordinary guard of thirty men, and a number of volunteers. A steamboat was despatched to Warren, Bristol, and Newport, to bring in the troops from those places.

During the evening, about a hundred armed men from Woonsocket and other towns joined Dorr, and, before midnight, his force was increased to three or four hundred. At one o'clock on the morning of the 18th, two signal guns were fired from his quarters, as if to inform his enemies as well as his friends, that the attack was to be made. The bells of Providence instantly tolled the alarm, according to the preconcerted plan, three strokes from one being followed by three strokes from another, and so on, round the city. The citizens flocked to the alarm posts, and among them were seen the aged father, the uncle, and the brothers-in-law of the leader of the insurgents. Parties were sent out to strengthen the guard at the Arsenal, but the troops of Dorr were on the ground before them. With two hundred and fifty soldiers, and two pieces of artillery, he marched to attack this strong building, situated on an open plain about a mile and a half out of the city, surrounded by stone walls, and protected by at least an equal number of armed men, and five cannon. Passing round the city, and not through it, the insurgents arrived there some hours before daybreak, and sent a message requiring the garrison to surrender. The commander, Colonel Blodgett, returned a contemptuous re-

fusal, and the artillery of the insurgents being then brought to the front, Dorr ordered his men to fire. The match was applied, but only the priming powder flashed, for some more prudent friend of the cause, without the knowledge of his fellows, had drawn the charge, and plugged the pieces. The men within the Arsenal waited for the first discharge before opening their own fire, which, from the exposed position of their opponents, must have been very destructive. But not a shot came, and it soon appeared, that the courage of the rebels had failed, and that parties of them were already retiring from the field without waiting for orders. The reinforcements from the city were advancing, and as the night was very dark, a heavy fog hanging over the river and the plain, hostile companies, not distinguishable by any peculiarity of dress or equipment, passed each other unchallenged. "The officer first in command under me," says Dorr, "had disappeared, and he was followed by others. Delay occurred in altering the position of the pieces." Most of the soldiers having retired, "I directed the pieces to be withdrawn, and left the ground at daylight with thirty-five or forty men. None remained behind after we had retired."

At daylight, the Mayor issued a notice, requiring the citizens to close their places of business during the day, and to meet at their alarm posts, at half past seven o'clock. The steamboat arrived at seven, bringing in the companies from Newport and the other towns. Five hundred soldiers, with six field-pieces, were then placed under the command of Colonel Blodgett, accompanied by Governor King, and moved towards Federal Hill, with the determination to arrest Dorr. Most of the insurgents had dispersed; but thirty or forty desperate men, half intoxicated, remained; and they loaded to the muzzle two pieces of cannon, which they still possessed, brought them forward so as to command the street by which the troops were to ascend to Dorr's headquarters, and stood by them with lighted matches, prepared to fire. Colonel Blodgett ordered a detachment to go round to their rear, and then, with the main body of his men, marched steadily up the street. The insurgents dared not fire, but gradually drew back with their cannon, till the troops came up to Anthony's house, which Governor King, with a company of soldiers, entered and searched, but without success. Dorr had gone off about two hours before. A num-

ber of men on horseback were instantly sent in pursuit, but he had the start of them, and was soon in safety beyond the limits of the State. The small party, who still held the two cannon, were then required to surrender. They refused, and the word was about to be given to fire upon them, when one of their leaders came forward, and said he had lost all command over them, for they were drunk and reckless; but if left to themselves, they would soon give up the cannon and disperse. Willing to avoid the effusion of blood, Governor King drew off the troops. The cannon were soon returned, and the last of the insurgents disappeared.

The detestable character of this revolt, and the prompt manner in which it was repressed by the government, had their proper effect on many of the misguided persons, who had hitherto been active in the party of the insurgents. On the morning of the 18th, most of the members of Dorr's legislature from the city of Providence resigned their offices, and published a handbill reprobating in the strongest terms the late violent proceedings, and in fact denouncing their former leader. Their example was soon followed by most of the *soidisant* executive officers and legislators appointed from the other towns. Dorr was now left almost alone among the former leaders of the party, and, the "government" created under him having in fact dissolved itself, one would suppose, that neither pretence, means, nor inclination remained to him for continuing the revolt. But the dogged resoluteness of his character was opposed to any sign of submission, and his vanity being elated by the praises heaped upon him in some assemblages of the ignorant populace in the other States, he persevered in the attempt with a determination that savored of insanity. Little effort on his part was needed to keep up the excitement among the unthinking and uneducated classes, whose passions had first been roused by false statements and heated declamation, and whose ardor was now sustained and even increased by the electric influences of a revolutionary contest. It is easy, under such circumstances, to stir the passions of a multitude to madness, but a mighty power is required in order to direct or allay the storm.

The agitation that prevailed, the threatening language that was still used, and occasional rumors of insurgent gatherings in different parts of the State did not permit the legal author-

ities to relax in their vigilance, nor the inhabitants to feel secure, till Dorr should be apprehended, or a more signal blow be struck. The Governor issued his proclamation, offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the arrest and delivery of this fugitive from justice ; and this offer was subsequently, by order of the General Assembly, increased to five thousand ; but without effect. He was known to be lurking somewhere on the borders of the State, concerting measures with his adherents for another outbreak ; but his movements and policy were too well concealed to admit of the discovery or seizure of his person. The military organization of the State, therefore, was still kept up, and a sickening uncertainty and suspense rested on people's minds. Business had long been at a stand, and the aspect of affairs was gloomy. No clue could be obtained to the secret movements of the insurgents, but report magnified their numbers and means, and stories were current respecting great promises of aid to them from the populace of New York and other cities. That such stories were not entirely without foundation appears from the violent and incendiary character of the speeches made by some of the street orators in these cities, about this period. "You stand here idle," said one to a large assemblage in State Street, Boston, "you stand here idle, while those aristocrats in Rhode Island are pouring out the blood of your brethren like water upon the pavement." In respect either to the falsity of the charge, or to the fiendlike nature of the only purpose with which it could have been uttered, a parallel to this speech can be found only in the detestable ravings of Danton or Marat.

Incidents occurred, from time to time, that showed the continued, though secret, activity of the hostile party, and that preparations were making for another struggle. There were indications of a general movement in the northern parts of the State, and especially in the city and county of Providence, where the faction had always been most numerous and violent. Bands of armed men appeared suddenly in Woonsocket, North Providence, Cumberland, Gloucester, and other places, and great pains were taken to collect arms and munitions of war. A party of them, about fifty in number, made an attempt, one dark and stormy night, to get possession of some cannon in the hands of an artillery company, about nine miles distant from Providence, having pro-

vided themselves with four horses in order to carry the pieces off. In the darkness, they missed the place where the cannon were deposited, and broke open two other buildings. By this time, the guard had alarmed the town, and there were soon two hundred and fifty armed men in the streets. But the marauders succeeded in making their escape, though without having effected their object. A few days afterwards, a powder magazine in the neighbourhood of the city was discovered to have been broken open, and about twelve hundred pounds of gunpowder carried off. It was easy to perceive the motive of this class of thefts, the end being quite as *patriotic*, as the means were honorable.

At last, about the 20th of June, news arrived, that the insurgents were assembling in great force at Chepachet, a considerable village of the town of Gloucester, near the Connecticut line ; that they had taken possession of an eminence there, called Acote's hill, and were fortifying it by throwing up entrenchments. Field-works were thrown up on two sides of the summit, with wide spaces for the cannon, of which there were seven pieces. The first accounts were, that seven or eight hundred men had come together, that many others were on their way to join them, and that they were all well supplied with arms and ammunition. To the major part of the people of Rhode Island, weary of repeated alarms and reports of treasonable machinations, this information of the renewal of the contest brought rather a feeling of relief than of terror or discouragement. Now that the insurrection had come to a head, by a vigorous effort it might be crushed, and it would no longer be necessary

> "Against the undivulged pretence to fight
> Of treasonous malice."

Their spirits and courage were high, strengthened, as they were, by the recollection of former success, and by a conviction of the justice of their cause ; and when the call was sounded, they rallied to the support of the government with a quickness and energy, that promised a speedy termination of the contest. The General Assembly passed an act, placing the whole State under martial law. Volunteers were called for, and more than a thousand citizens of Providence enrolled themselves in a single day. All places of business were closed, and men of all ages, ranks, and professions again assumed the duties of common soldiers. Providence,

Warren, Bristol, and Newport had the appearance of so many camps, the citizens remaining almost constantly under arms, and devoting day and night to military exercises. Steamboats were despatched down the Bay to bring together the troops, and by the evening of the 26th, more than three thousand were collected in Providence, well supplied with arms, and others were constantly coming in. Thirteen pieces of ordnance were provided, and the government stores of ammunition were ample. General McNeil was appointed to the chief command, and he was assisted by many gentlemen capable of rendering efficient aid both in council and in action.

Dorr joined the camp of the insurgents on the 25th, and immediately issued a proclamation, requiring his "General Assembly," which had been adjourned to meet at Providence, to come together at Gloucester; that is, into the midst of his forces; and he requested those towns in which vacancies had occurred by resignation, to proceed forthwith to fill them by new elections. This last clause was a very necessary one, for there were hardly half a dozen members of his legislature who had not resigned. He also issued "General Orders," countersigned by his "Adjutant-General," requiring "the military of this State," who were in favor of the "People's Constitution," to repair forthwith to his head-quarters, and requesting all volunteers to do the same. But even those newspapers in Providence, which had hitherto advocated his cause, refused to publish these orders, and they could be printed only in New York. Many of his former friends in Providence, also, as Dorr himself declares, "were led to renounce and denounce our proceedings, as no longer to be '*tolerated*'; and they subscribed a paper to this effect." In truth, the utmost efforts of the more violent members of the insurgent party could not bring together more than a very paltry force at Chepachet; and, if their weakness had been known, a great part of the labor of preparation for putting down the rebellion might have been spared. But it was impossible to obtain information that could be relied upon. Their leader affirms, that on the 27th, they had but two hundred and twenty-five men under arms, although "a much larger number of persons came and went as spectators, some of whom may have been set down as a part of the military." They had

seven pieces of artillery, and more muskets than they could use. It was *men* that they needed. Dorr himself remarks, with infinite simplicity and astonishment, that "the people were called, and they did not come."

The first act of hostility was committed by the insurgents. A party of four persons, who went out from Providence to obtain information respecting the movements of the rebels, were met by a detachment from Dorr's camp, and taken prisoners. "They were disarmed, robbed, and bound, and marched off twelve miles on foot to Woonsocket." A movement of a mob of "*sympathizers*" from another State led to the only loss of life, that occurred during the contest. On the 27th, a crowd of persons collected in Pawtucket, Massachusetts, apparently determined to cross the bridge and enter Rhode Island. The government had posted a company of soldiers to keep guard at the Rhode Island end of the bridge. In the evening, the mob began to press on; they assailed the guard with brickbats and other missiles, and wounded one or more. They were ordered to disperse, and when they would not obey, a volley of musketry was fired over their heads. Still they persisted, and the order to fire was given, and, being obeyed, one man was killed, and probably one or two others were slightly wounded.

The organization of the government forces being completed on the 27th, General McNeil prepared to march against the insurgents; and, with that purpose, ordered a considerable detachment to go round into their rear, so as to cut off their retreat into Connecticut. The steps of this party, and of the main body, were soon hastened by a report, that the hostile camp was already breaking up, and the men dispersing to their several homes. At the bare rumor of the approach of so large an array against them, the insurgent force dissolved like snow in the sunbeams. Dorr summoned a council of his officers on that day, and the order to dismiss the troops was given at seven o'clock in the evening; an hour afterwards, he himself left the camp, and made his escape into Connecticut. But the obstinate fatuity of the man appears in the senseless boast, which he afterwards uttered, that, if an attack was not made, on the night of the 27th, upon Greenville, the nearest post held by the government forces, the failure should be attributed, not to the terror

inspired by the number of troops arrayed against them, "but to our repudiating friends." A rumor of these occurrences hastened the advance of the troops, who pressed on without halting during the night, though it was very dark, and the rain poured in torrents. A few hours after daybreak, on the morning of the 27th, a considerable force, under Colonel Brown, entered the fort at Chepachet, where they found only the deserted tents and abandoned artillery of the insurgents. They had taken about a hundred prisoners on the way; but the body of Dorr's adherents had dispersed, never to appear in arms again. Dorr himself lived as an unnoticed fugitive in New Hampshire or Massachusetts, till a few months ago, when he returned to Rhode Island, where he was immediately arrested, and is now in prison there, awaiting his trial for treason. The numerous other persons, who were arrested for treasonable conduct, have been contemptuously discharged, we believe, without punishment.

We have only to add, in order to complete our historical sketch of the whole affair, that the General Assembly of Rhode Island, indefatigable in its efforts to create a form of government that would satisfy the whole people, passed an act in June for calling another Convention, the delegates to which were to be chosen by all male citizens of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, who had had a permanent residence in the State for three years or more. This body came together in September, and framed a constitution free even from the trifling objections that were made to the one proposed by the "Landholders' Convention" in the preceding February, and constituting a government as liberal and equal in respect to the elective franchise, the representation of the towns, and all other points, as that which exists in any State of the Union. This instrument was submitted to the people in November, and adopted by an overwhelming vote, the Suffrage party making no opposition to it, but staying away from the polls. After it was accepted, however, they determined to register their names under it as voters, and to make another trial to obtain the command of the State through the ballot box. The election took place in the spring, and though they used every effort, they were again defeated by a large majority, and did not succeed in polling much over 7,000 votes. In view of these facts, and of the whole history of the latter part of the

contest, so far as it affords the means of estimating the number of persons arrayed on the opposite sides, we ask again, whether it is even conceivable, that the majority of 14,000, alleged to have been obtained for the "People's Constitution," in December, 1841, was any thing more than a base and shameless fraud?

We here close our historical sketch of this remarkable contest, which we have endeavoured to render as succinct and faithful as possible, having made no statements, as is believed, but those which are admitted on both sides, and which are universally known to be true. With this purpose in view, we have relied as much for authority on the speeches and letters of Mr. Dorr and his friends, as on the publications of their opponents. All the pamphlets and published letters and speeches, which grew out of this controversy, are very interesting, and most of them, on either side, are written with great ability. Those which are mentioned at the head of this article, form but a small portion of the number that we have examined, for the subject was one of paramount importance, and, sooner or later, it engaged nearly all the legal and literary talent in the State. Mr. Goddard handles the question with the taste and elegance of the scholar, and the perspicuity of statement and force of reasoning which are characteristic of a well disciplined mind. A great amount of historical and legal information is brought to bear upon it by Judge Pitman, and while his appeals to the good sense and patriotism of his fellow citizens show great sincerity and depth of feeling, his argument manifests the impartiality, the comprehensiveness of view, the vigorous logic, and the other high qualities of intellect that are developed and strengthened by long experience on the bench of justice. Mr. Whipple's pamphlet is a masterly display of forensic talent, and is worthy of his high reputation as the head of the Rhode Island bar. Leaving the authorities and the facts to be cited and applied by others, he goes directly to the abstract subject of dispute, and builds upon it an argument at once compact, sweeping, nervous, and unanswerable, while he fairly riddles the showy pretences and thin sophistry of his opponents. Of Judge Durfee's "Charge to the Grand Jury," we can only say, that it exhibits broad and generous views of the first principles of political science, and of the great truths on which the whole theory of government and

social life is founded, and that these principles and truths are made to bear with irresistible force on the case in hand.

On the other side, nearly the whole weight of the argument rests on the shoulders of Mr. Dorr, and it must be admitted, that he sustains the burden with great gallantry and steadiness. His intellect is acute, but not comprehensive; his argument is logical, but not convincing, for the premises are unsound. He displays an amount of talent and information, that leads one to doubt his sincerity in the foolish and wicked cause in which he embarked, notwithstanding the pertinacity with which he clung to it under every kind of discouragement and defeat. His writings and actions show a mind of good natural endowments and tolerable cultivation, great argumentative power, considerable tact and executive ability in the conduct of affairs, much ambition guided by little principle, and an indomitable obstinacy of character, that fitted him in an eminent degree to be the leader of a faction, and the manager of a protracted contest.

He had, at least, one coadjutor out of his native State, whose name we are sorry to see connected with such a cause. It is a source of deep regret and mortification, that one who had long sustained an unspotted character in the most elevated judicial station in Massachusetts, and who had recently been appointed to the Chief Magistracy, should so far be blinded by his political opinions and aspirations, as to appear, in some measure, as the defender of revolt in a neighbouring State, as a volunteer in a revolutionary contest with which he had nothing to do, and as the advocate of doctrines that sap the very foundations of government and social order, which the best and most honorable portion of his life had been devoted to sustaining and building up. It is true, that, when Governor Morton addressed his published letter to the "clambake gathering" at Medbury Grove, the civil war in Rhode Island was ended. But this only makes the matter worse. The principles of the persons whom he addressed were then manifest, for they had been fully illustrated by their actions. They had joined in the attack on the arsenal at Providence, they had shouldered arms in the insurgent camp at Chepachet; and, in both instances, they had been defeated by the established authorities of the State, supported by the great body of the peaceable and well informed inhabitants, and acting under the direct sanction of the legal tri-

bunals and of the President of the United States. No matter how undecided the language, no matter how cautious or ambiguous was the expression of opinion, in a letter addressed to such an assembly, convened with such ends in view; for it cannot be denied, that the purpose of this "gathering" was to keep up the excitement and the spirit of revolt against the established government of Rhode Island. To notice such an assembly at all, except in the way of indignant censure, was to praise it; to sanction any of its principles, under such circumstances, was to adopt the whole. Governor Morton now enjoys the bad eminence of being, so far as we know, the only person in the United States, that has ever held high judicial office, who has in any way lent the sanction of his name to the proceedings of the insurgent party of Rhode Island. We freely admit, — though the fact hardly palliates at all the conduct or the motives of the writer, — that the language of this letter is temperate, and the principles defended in it generally sound, though perverted and sophistical in their application.

We cannot say as much for another pamphlet in favor of the Suffrage party, the title of which is quoted at the head of this article. We think "the Boston bar" has good ground of action for libel against the person who publishes such a performance, while claiming to be "a member of" that very respectable body. Its character may be inferred from the contemptible fling on the title-page at Dr. Wayland, who is there styled, by implication, with about as much wit as good manners, a "doctor of despotism." It is a paltry production, written with a very pert and self-satisfied air, abounding in flippant assumptions, but indicating a total incapacity, either of comprehending the questions at issue, or of advancing a single argument having a direct and cogent bearing upon them. In compassion to the writer, it may be thrown back, without further notice, into the anonymous kennel where it belongs.

We have not left ourselves much space for an argument on the Rhode Island question. In truth, hardly any argument is needed; for it is difficult to put the question into any form, so that the mere statement of it shall not involve an entire refutation of the doctrines of the Suffrage party. Fortunately, there is no room for controversy about the manner of statement, or the meaning of the words in which it is con-

veyed ; for the practice of the party has furnished a full and intelligible commentary upon their doctrines. Their theory of government is written out, not merely in words, but in deeds, so that he who runs may read it. We have told the story, and there is, consequently, no difficulty in getting at the point in dispute. The question is, whether any number of persons may, at any time, come together, and without observing any of the forms of law, declare that they are "the people," or a majority of the people, and, as such, proceed to destroy the whole fabric of the existing government, and in its place create laws and establish a constitution, which shall be binding on the whole population of the State ? Are they entitled to assume, that they are 14,000 in number, and, without furnishing any evidence even of this fact, go on at once to form a government which shall be obligatory on 108,000 souls ? We say, "without furnishing any evidence even of this fact," for the actual returns have never been seen or summed up except by some half a dozen members of the Suffrage association or convention, nor have they been attested on oath, nor verified in any way. Who authorized fourteen individuals to act for the hundred and eight, of whom they were a part, and to make laws which should be binding on the whole, not only without the expressed consent of their fellows, but in spite of their earnest and repeated protest ? It is impossible to answer this question, except by admitting the fundamental fact, which lies at the origin, not only of all government, but of all society, — that *the state*, or, in other words, *the people*, under any circumstances, even at a revolutionary period, is a kind of corporation, an organized body politic, a unit, acting only through established forms, by its legally appointed agents. Of course, this admission would be fatal to all the pretensions of the Suffrage party.

The constitution of Massachusetts was ratified and made binding upon posterity, because it was approved, says Mr. J. Q. Adams, "by more than two thirds of about 15,000 persons who voted upon it, out of a population of 350,000, or one vote for every thirty-five souls." But who doubts the *popular* origin and character of our government ? These 15,000 persons, having complied with all legal requisitions, and acting upon a subject on which they were specially empowered at the time to act, passed a fundamental law, which

will be binding on them and their posterity for all future time, or until it shall be repealed in as formal a manner as it was enacted. Who pretends, that fifteen, or even twenty, thousand persons, of any class or character, might now come together, at their own instance only, without being specially delegated or authorized for such a purpose, and at once put a statute of their own formation in the place of this law? Even if a vast majority of the whole population of the State should become discontented with the constitution and desire to change it, they could not effect their purpose except by compliance with the established forms, — by manifesting their wishes in the appointed way, and waiting the appointed time (which, in this case, is at least two years), for their wishes to be carried into effect.

It is true, that our institutions repeatedly recognize the right of the majority to rule. But *what* majority? And how far, or how absolutely, can they rule? Only the majority in formally constituted bodies, recognized and appointed by the fundamental laws of the State, and acting within prescribed bounds upon regularly defined matters committed to their charge by these laws. Thus, the constitution permits a majority of the legislature to make laws, though only upon specified subjects, and within specified limits. But a number of men cannot band themselves together, forcibly unite themselves to the legally appointed legislators, and then, because they constitute a majority of the whole united body, pass such laws as they see fit. Such majorities are only unauthorized mobs, and so far as they usurp the functions of legislation or government, all persons participating in their acts are liable to the penalties of treason. The case is precisely similar with the constituted body of electors, who are authorized or deputed, so to speak, to represent the whole body politic, to act for it and to bind it by their acts, though they never form more than a fifth part of the whole number of individuals who are thus bound. They are empowered to elect the members of the legislature and the officers of the executive department, and this right of election is their sole and peculiar prerogative. A number of minors, paupers, convicts, individuals not paying taxes, or persons otherwise disqualified by the constitution, may not come together to usurp the privileges and functions of these electors, and because they constitute the major part of the aggregate

thus irregularly formed, proceed to exercise all the powers of the primitive body, and to make their acts obligatory upon the whole State. To do this is not only to violate the particular constitution established in that State, but to pull down the whole fabric of society and government. If they attempt it, their acts are not binding upon a single person, out of their own number, in the whole community. Members of the reputed minority, — nay, even women and children, — would at once have a perfect right to refuse obedience. Yet this is precisely the Rhode Island case, and these are the pretensions of the Suffrage party.

Again, it is not true, either in the theory or the practice of our institutions, that the majority, even in legally constituted bodies, can rule *in all cases*, this very power of forming new constitutions, or amending old ones, being one of the admitted exceptions. Thus, the constitution of the United States cannot be amended or repealed by the will of a mere majority. A concurrence of two thirds in both houses of Congress, or of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, is necessary before an amendment can even be proposed ; and then it must be ratified by not less than three fourths of the States, before it becomes a part of the instrument. Owing to the inequality in size and population of the several States, the disproportion between the majority and minority, in certain cases, must be very great, before an amendment can be adopted. We find, from a calculation founded on the last census, that in a case affecting the interests of the smaller States, so that they would be united in opposition to the measure, an amendment of the constitution might be defeated by less than one twelfth part of the whole population of the country. In other words, if eleven twelfths of the people of the United States should attempt to alter the constitution, they could rightfully be defeated by the remaining twelfth ; or if they attempted to carry through the measure with a high hand, after the manner of Dorr and his associates, Rhode Island herself would be the first to protest against the act, as a gross usurpation of the powers of government, and a violation of compact. And what inequality in the elective franchise or the ratio of representation had the Suffrage party to complain of, as great as that which now exists in the Senate of the United States, in which Rhode Island, with a population of less than a hundred and nine thousand, has as

many members as New York, with her two and a half millions of inhabitants! The disproportion in this case is nearly as one to twenty-five, and a majority of twelve to one would have no right to restore the equality.

Is it said, that the constitution of the United States offers a peculiar case, being instituted for a limited purpose by special compact, and not designed to cover the whole ground, or to answer all the ends, of an entire frame of government? Let us look, then, at the constitutions of the individual States, and find how far they can be moulded at will by a mere majority of the people. It is almost superfluous to say, at the outset, that in no one instance is a power over the instrument accorded to any other persons than the qualified voters, whom it points out and describes. While all admit, either expressly or by obvious implication, the right of "the people" to change their forms of government, they proceed immediately to prescribe the manner and the time of effecting any change, the class of individuals by whom alone it can be accomplished, what proportion of this favored number, who alone are recognized as "the people," must concur in the desire for an alteration, and under what conditions only it can be effected. In no case, can a change be made with the same facility with which new officers are appointed at the annual elections; that is, by the vote of a mere majority, taking immediate effect. Always some delay, giving time for more experience and more mature consideration, or a vote much greater than that of a mere majority, affording clearer evidence that the change is generally desired, is necessary, before the fundamental law of the State can be modified in the slightest degree.

We have no room even for the briefest abstract of the provisions of all the State constitutions on this important point. We can give only a few instances to show how distinctly the supposed absolute power of the majority in this respect is denied, or with what important restrictions it is hampered. In Maine, two thirds of both houses of the legislature must deem an alteration necessary, before the people can act upon the constitution at all; and then a majority of the qualified voters must sanction this decided expression of opinion on the part of the legislature, before the change can be effected. In Massachusetts, a change must first be desired by a majority of the Senators and by two

thirds of the Representatives; the proposed amendment must then lie over for a year, and be approved by an equally preponderating vote of the next legislature; then it may be submitted to the qualified voters, and if ratified by a majority of their voices, it goes into effect. In Connecticut, a majority of the representatives may propose an amendment, which must be referred to the next General Assembly, and there be approved by two thirds of each house; it may then be laid before the people, and become a part of the constitution, if sanctioned by a majority of the ordinary voters. In New York, the provision is the same as in Connecticut, except that a majority of both houses, instead of the representatives only, must be in favor of it, before the amendment can be first proposed. In South Carolina, the people have no power to act directly upon the constitution; an amendment must be agreed to by two thirds of both branches of the legislature, be then referred to the succeeding year, and, if again approved by a like vote of two thirds, it goes into effect. In Ohio, if two thirds of the General Assembly think it necessary to alter the constitution, they may require the voters at the next general election to declare whether they are desirous of holding a convention for this purpose; if a majority of the voters are in favor of it, the next General Assembly may call a convention, by which alterations can be made.

It is useless to go further. The instances here given are taken at random, and are enough to show what is the general tenor of the State constitutions in this important respect. In all, the doctrine that a mere majority of the people may alter the constitution at any time, as they see fit, is emphatically rejected. In all, the previous action of the legislature is needed — usually a greatly preponderating vote in both branches — and in most cases, much delay is necessary, however pressing may be the emergency, or however general the desire for a change. Contrast these wise provisions with the theory and practice of the Suffrage party in Rhode Island, where a mere assemblage of individuals, who were not even qualified voters, and who acted not only without the consent of the legislature, but in spite of the direct refusal of that body to have any part in the matter, so that it even disavowed and prohibited all their proceedings, undertook of their own authority to throw down the government that had

been established for nearly two hundred years, and to put another of their own formation in its place. Will it be believed, that the defenders of such proceedings cite from the State constitutions, and the writers on constitutional law, repeated declarations, that "the people" have a right to make and alter their own forms of government, without saying a word of the explanation that immediately follows, which shows who are understood to be "the people," and what forms, what organs, and what majorities are necessary to enable them to exercise this right? They fasten on the abstract expression of a right, without uttering a syllable about the manner in which the use of this privilege is immediately defined and limited.

Is it said, that the charter did not authorize the legislature to make, from time to time, such changes in the form of government as might appear expedient? We answer by a prompt denial of the fact. Among the powers expressly granted to the General Assembly by this instrument is the following: "to make, ordain, constitute, or repeal such laws, statutes, orders, and ordinances, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, as to them shall seem meet for the good and welfare of the said company." Power more unlimited, or language more comprehensive, could hardly be devised. Besides, as we have seen, the power to determine or alter the elective franchise was confessedly in the hands of the legislature alone, and was repeatedly exercised by them, so that this body, by a simple enactment, without touching the fundamental law of the State, might, at any time, have redressed almost the only grievance of which the Suffrage party complained. This party, therefore, by their violent proceedings, not only usurped the functions of the founders of a new State, but actually assumed the exclusive prerogatives and duties of their own legislators for the time being.

Is it said, that the limitations on the right of suffrage in Rhode Island were anti-republican, and at variance with the genius of our institutions? We might answer, that this is a disputed point, and that to determine it was exclusively the province of the legislature. But we are willing to go further, and to show that universal suffrage does not now exist, and never has existed, in any State of this union; that there are greater or less restrictions of the elective franchise

in them all ; that the qualifications of a voter in Rhode Island were not much higher than in several other States ; and that it is absurd to attempt to found a distinction in principle upon a mere difference in degree. Again, we have neither time nor space for an analysis of all the State constitutions ; but we find in Mr. Hazard's "Report," made in 1829, a brief summary of their provisions in this respect, which was probably correct at the time the Report was made, and which is quite enough to establish all that is here advanced.

"Of the twenty-four States already embraced in the Union, Virginia and Rhode Island require a freehold qualification for voters. Connecticut requires a freehold of seven pounds yearly value, or the payment of taxes, or one year's service in the militia, (unless excused,) and that the voters *shall have gained a settlement in the State ;* and, turning to the laws of that State to ascertain what the applicant has to do to gain a *settlement*, we find, that if he comes from a *sister* State, he must reside at least one year in the town in Connecticut where he is to gain his settlement, and must be possessed, in his own right, in fee, of real estate in that State of the value of three hundred and thirty-four dollars, free of incumbrance, the deed of which shall have been one year on record ; and without such substantial recommendation, he gains no settlement, unless especially favored by the authority of the town. Maryland requires a freehold of fifty acres, or property to the amount of thirty pounds. North Carolina requires a freehold of fifty acres to vote for senators ; the payment of taxes to vote for county members ; and a freehold to vote for town representatives. South Carolina, a freehold of fifty acres, or payment of taxes. Tennessee, a freehold in the county where the vote is given, unless the voter is resident there. New Jersey requires fifty pounds *proclamation* money, clear estate. New York requires that the voter shall pay taxes, (unless exempted,) or serve in the militia, (unless excused,) or be assessed to labor on the highway ; in which case, he must be three years an inhabitant of the State, and one year of the town or county where he votes. Mississippi requires payment of taxes or enrolment in the militia. Seven other States, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Georgia, and Louisiana, require only the payment of taxes as evidence of property. The remaining seven, namely, Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, Illinois, Alabama, Indiana, and Missouri require no property qualification, nor any equivalent or substitute. The constitutions of all the States, except three, *expressly* exclude females. In two of those three, they are excluded by

construction; and, in the other (New Jersey), where females formerly voted, in high party times, they are now excluded by *act of the legislature, amending the constitution.* Thirteen of the States expressly exclude all people of color. The other eleven, namely, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, admit, or do not expressly exclude them. But one of these, (New York,) makes a marked distinction between her white and her colored voters; — requiring of the latter freehold estates, for which they pay taxes of two hundred and fifty pounds value, and three years' instead of one year's residence. One State excludes paupers; another, paupers and persons under guardianship; a third adds Indians not taxed to these exclusions. Connecticut requires the qualification of a good moral character; and Vermont requires peaceable and quiet behaviour, and an oath. Pennsylvania and Delaware allow the sons of voters to vote for one year after coming of age. Every State requires a residence of a shorter or longer time, from three months up to three years. Every State excludes all under twenty-one years of age. Five of them only require citizenship of the United States." — pp. 18, 19.

"But the feature in the constitutions we have been speaking of, least in harmony with the doctrine of universal right of suffrage, (which, in other respects, is carried to such extremes in those instruments,) is the striking difference they make in the qualifications of the electors, and of those whom they are allowed to elect. In none of those States (except Connecticut) can a single one of the electors, who is barely qualified to act as such, be himself elected a representative, much less a senator. In most of those States, a senator or representative (with some difference as to amount) must possess a clear freehold estate of very considerable extent, — from one hundred to five hundred acres; and, of value, from one hundred pounds to one thousand dollars. In one State, the freehold must be worth five hundred pounds sterling; and, in another, a thousand pounds sterling, clear of debt. And where real and personal property together make the qualification, the amount required is still much greater. In one State, in addition to a freehold of five hundred acres, the candidate must *own ten negroes.* The term of residence, also, must be much longer than is required for voters, namely, from one to seven years; and the candidates must be of more mature age, namely, from twenty-two up to thirty-five years, in different States." — pp. 21, 22.

The truth is, that in the United States, and in every

other country on earth, wherein the right of the people to manage their own affairs and govern themselves is asserted and exercised, "the people" is understood to be a specific and peculiar phrase, not comprehending "all persons," but assuming by prescription to represent all. Otherwise, it would be impossible for the machinery of a government to exist. *Non omnia possumus omnes.* We cannot all be governors, legislators, and voters at the same time. There must be delegations, and organized bodies, and deputed trusts, and virtual representations; or the wheels of government must stop short, and men must go back to a state of nature, to reside in caverns and forests, in the condition described in the expressive language of Hobbes; "no arts, no letters, no society, and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." The most perfect democracy that now exists, or of which there is any record in history, is that of a town meeting in a New England country village. But even there, are moderators, and rules of proceeding, and qualified voters, and business confined to the matters mentioned in the warrant. So it must ever be. The very idea of a government is that of something which is stable, that proceeds by fixed rules, and in which one person represents many, and binds them by his acts. Not even the sovereign power in a state, which has any pretensions to freedom, can modify or abolish it at his own pleasure. "It is contrary to reason," said the citizens of Boston, in May, 1764, to their representatives in the General Court, instructing them to remonstrate against some of the offensive Acts of Trade, "it is contrary to reason, that the supreme power should have right to alter the constitution." If it could be so, it would be a despotism instead of a free government, no matter whether the despotic power were lodged in the hands of a king or a mob, a Louis the Fourteenth or a Jacobin club at Paris.

Name and define our form of polity as you please; call it a republic, a democracy, or any thing else; *it is still a government.* It must embrace, then, those elements of permanency and stability, which mark the distinction between organized society and the natural state of man, because they enable men to see what they are to expect, and to regulate their conduct for the future by some fixed rules, without de-

pending on the caprice of individuals, or the whim of a moment. It must not be changed without grave deliberation, much delay, and the consentaneous operation of all the parts. Allow the principles of the Suffrage party to prevail, and the constitution of no State in the union is safe. A body of individuals may at any time come together, declare that they are "the people," pull down the whole structure of the government, and put one of their own fashioning in its place. The question is, therefore, whether we really have a permanent habitation, or are only tenants at will of a crazy building, of which the walls may crumble, and the roof topple down on our heads at any moment.

In this connexion, some of the weighty and magnificent sentences of Burke, in which the depth of thought and solemnity of sentiment are equalled only by the splendor of the diction, are so appropriate, that we cannot withstand the temptation to lay them before our readers.

"Society is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of more occasional interest may be deposited at pleasure. But the state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some such other low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence; because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence, of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible world, according to a fixed compact, sanctioned by the inviolable oath, which holds all physical and all moral natures, each in their appointed place. This law is not subject to the will of those, who, by an obligation above them and infinitely superior, are bound to submit their will to that law. The municipal corporations of that universal kingdom are not morally at liberty, at their pleasure, and on their speculations of a contingent improvement, wholly to separate and tear asunder the bands of their subordinate community, and to dissolve it into an unsocial,

uncivil, unconnected chaos of elementary principles. It is the first and supreme necessity only, a necessity that is not chosen but chooses, a necessity paramount to deliberation, that admits no discussion, and demands no evidence, which alone can justify a resort to anarchy. This necessity is no exception to the rule; because this necessity itself is a part, too, of that moral and physical disposition of things, to which man must be obedient by consent or force. But if that, which is only submission to necessity, should be made the object of choice, the law is broken, nature is disobeyed, and the rebellious are outlawed, cast forth, and exiled from this world of reason, and order, and peace, and virtue, and fruitful penitence, into the antagonist world of madness, discord, vice, confusion, and unavailing sorrow." *

To justify the proceedings of Dorr and his associates, it is necessary to go the extravagant length of affirming, that when they commenced their operations, no legal government existed in Rhode Island, that their fundamental laws went into effect in default of any competition, and that they merely established a new society, instead of breaking up an old one. The absurdity of this statement appears from the brief sketch that we have given of the history of the charter. We have shown, that the founders of Rhode Island formed themselves into a body politic, and declared that their form of government was a democracy, or rule of the people; that they subsequently obtained from the king, at their own solicitation, a charter confirming them in the exercise of these rights, and permitting them to choose all their own officers, and make all their own laws; that this charter, though sanctioned by the monarch, derived its whole binding force within the colony from the voluntary acceptance and ratification of it by the people; that it was acknowledged and hated by the royal governors and the other partisans of prerogative, during the whole Colonial period, as establishing a confessed republic or democracy; that it continued in force, because, having once been established by the people, the people never abrogated it; that under its provisions, and acting through the legal authorities constituted by it, the State became a party to the American Revolution, entered the Confederacy of 1778, and accepted the Federal Constitution of 1787; and that it continued after the Revolution in undisputed

* *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

force, and subject to no complaint or doubt, for at least forty years. We question whether there was ever a government on the face of the earth, which had a better claim to be considered as existing "by the grace of God" and by the will of the people.

The rightful authority of this system is further strengthened by the consideration, that the government of Connecticut, down to the year 1818, stood on precisely similar foundations, and its legal power was never impugned. In confirmation of our own argument on this point, we make a short extract from Judge Swift's admirable digest of the laws of Connecticut. The remarks are so apposite, that they may be applied to the Rhode Island case without the alteration of a word; and as the book was published in 1795, its author must be regarded as an independent and impartial witness.

"It is unquestionably true, that in consequence of the dissolution of the political connexion with Great Britain, the people of this State had a right, if they had thought proper to have exerted it, to have met in convention, and established a different form of government. But at the declaration of independence, the subject was considered in a different light. The authority of the government was supposed to have originated from the assent of the people, and never to have been dependent on the royal charter. During the whole period of the existence of the Colonial government, Connecticut was considered, as having only paid a nominal allegiance to the British crown, for the purpose of receiving protection and defence, as a part of the British empire; but always exercised legislation respecting all the internal concerns of the community, to the exclusion of all authority and control from the king and parliament, as much as an independent State. Acts of parliament were not deemed binding here, and the assent of the king and parliament was not necessary to give efficacy to our statutes. The necessary consequence was, that the renunciation of allegiance to the British crown, and the withdrawing from the British empire, did not in any degree affect, or alter, the constitution of the government. The constitution which originated from the people, and had been practised upon, continued in operation, after the declaration of independence, in the same manner as before, and was equally valid. The people were only discharged from a nominal allegiance to the British crown, which they had recognized for the purpose of protection and defence. These being

withdrawn by Great Britain, and war made upon them, they had a right to enter into a confederacy with any other States for the purpose of mutual defence; but their internal government remained unaltered and the same." — pp. 57, 58.

As the American Revolution did not impair the authority of the charter or the government established under it, so neither was there any thing in the conduct or the principles of the men at that period, which gives any sanction to the proceedings of the Suffrage party. We have already shown, that this great event was the most orderly revolution, that the world has ever witnessed. It was not a mere revolt, conducted by disorderly assemblages of men, suddenly throwing off a yoke which they had patiently borne for many years, and fanatically combating in defence of abstract principles to the value and importance of which their own eyes were but just opened. It was not a Quixotic crusade in favor of human rights in general, nor a war undertaken only to show that all men were free and equal, and had a right to govern themselves as they saw fit. It was rather the grave and deliberate act of a great country, that had grown up, in less than two centuries, as a dependency of England, and had gloried in this connexion with the land of its fathers, and in the privileges which inured to its people in their character as British subjects, till the aggressions of the crown and the oppressive conduct of the administration made it necessary to sever the tie, and to strike boldly in defence of these privileges, and of the more general rights of humanity, to which they were at last compelled, though reluctantly, to make appeal. They fought through the whole earlier part of the struggle, not for the acquisition of new privileges, but for the preservation of old ones ; not for the abstract doctrine of the equality of the human race, but for the maintenance of their charters, and of the right, which they had inherited from their fathers, of being taxed only by their own representatives. It is true, they were driven, at last, by "a long train of *abuses and usurpations*," to throw off their dependency on the British crown, "and to provide new guards for their future security." But it was a grave and awful necessity, like that of sundering the tie between parent and child. Even then, they did nothing in hatred, haste, or malice. They say, in language which is rather pathetic than denunciatory or triumphant, "we must, therefore, *ac-*

quiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation " ; and they declare, " that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." And this was the grand result of the Revolution, — to dissolve " *all political connexion* " with England, and not to proclaim a new gospel of human rights ; to fall back on their primitive institutions, and not to destroy them and to put new ones in their place ; to strike out one principle of American law, and not to abrogate the whole code.

Is this a novel and merely speculative view of the great contest of 1776 ? Look, then, at the conduct, the speeches and the writings of the earlier patriots, the proper " fathers of the Revolution," — of such men as James Otis, John Dickinson, and Dr. Franklin. They all boasted of the connexion of the country with England, and gloried in the title of British subjects ; they were strongly attached to the land which they still called their " home " ; they acknowledged the duty of allegiance to the crown, and spoke with the gloomiest apprehensions of measures for a separation, that might be forced upon them, if the ministry persisted in their schemes. The General Court of Massachusetts, in a memorial against the " Sugar Act," which they transmitted to their agent in England in the summer of 1764, declared, that " the connexion between Great Britain and her Colonies is so natural and strong, as to make their mutual happiness depend upon their mutual support. Nothing can tend more to the destruction of both, and to forward the measures of their enemies, than sowing the seeds of jealousy, animosity, and dissention between the mother country and the Colonies." James Otis, in his " Rights of the British Colonies," published the same year, when he was the avowed leader of the patriotic party in Massachusetts, writes thus : " We all think ourselves happy under Great Britain. We love, esteem, and reverence our mother country, and adore our king. And could the choice of independency be offered the Colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter." As late as July, 1774, John Dickinson, " the Pennsylvania Farmer," wrote the " instructions " presented by the deputies of several counties in Pennsylvania to their representatives in the General Assembly, from which we make the following extract.

"We well know, that the Colonists are charged by many persons in Great Britain, with attempting to obtain such an exclusion [of *any* power of parliament over these Colonies] and a total independence on her. As well we know the accusation to be utterly false. We can safely appeal to that Being, from whom no thought can be concealed, that our warmest wish and utmost ambition is, that we and our posterity may ever remain subordinate to and dependent upon our parent state. This submission our reason approves, our affection dictates, our duty commands, and our interest enforces."

Washington, as late as October, 1774, writes to a friend in Boston as follows :

"I was involuntarily led into a short discussion of this subject by your remarks on the conduct of the Boston people, and your opinion of their wishes to set up for independency. I am well satisfied, that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America ; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty, that peace and tranquillity, upon constitutional grounds, may be restored, and the horrors of civil discord prevented."

In a long note upon this passage, Mr. Sparks brings together an array of citations and authorities upon this point, which are perfectly decisive.* We can find room only for a few brief extracts. John Jay says :

"During the course of my life, and until after the second petition of Congress, in 1775, I never did hear an American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the Colonies. It has always been, and still is, my opinion and belief, that our country was prompted and impelled to independence by necessity, and not by choice."

"That there existed a general desire of independence of the crown, in any part of America, before the revolution, is as far from the truth, as the zenith from the nadir. For my own part, there was not a moment during the revolution, when I would not have given every thing I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance."

And Mr. Jefferson affirmed,

"What, eastward of New York, might have been the dispositions towards England before the commencement of hostilities, I know not; before that, I never heard a whisper of a

* *Washington's Works*, II. p. 496.

disposition to separate from Great Britain; and after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all."

Similar opinions, expressed in language quite as strong, are found throughout Franklin's correspondence for eight or nine years after the date of the Stamp Act. Even the old Congress, in the autumn of 1774, in an address to the people of Great Britain, use the following language. "You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured, that these are not facts but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness." And in their address to the king, they say: "We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain."

It is useless to multiply these citations. Enough has been given to support our view of the sentiments and doctrines maintained by the patriots of this country at the beginning of the war with England, and to show that there is nothing in them which harmonizes with the disorganizing and anarchical theory and practice of the Suffrage party in Rhode Island. Even the abstract assertion of the natural rights of man, with which the Declaration of Independence opens, if viewed in light cast upon it by the writings and the actions of its signers, must not be taken in its broad and literal meaning, as then actually reduced to practice; but as put forward only to justify the single step of a separation from England. Accordingly they say, that "*whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends*, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it"; but they go on immediately to qualify this assertion by the remark, that "prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established ought not to be changed for light and transient causes."

It is more directly connected with our present purpose to remark, that the revolution of 1776 was directed entirely by duly organized assemblies and associations, legally constituted, representing bodies politic. The authority on which they acted was not derived merely from casual and tumultuous assemblages of the people, into which any person might enter, and where every man had a voice. It was drawn, in

most cases, from long established legislative assemblies, existing according to law ; and when circumstances prevented such assemblies from coming together, conventions were organized in their place, closely resembling them in every particular. Such conventions were never held to displace the regular legislatures, to usurp their functions, or to dispute their authority.

Our limits will not permit us to illustrate and support this proposition at length. We can only call attention to a few facts and authorities, which are still enough to leave no doubt upon the subject. The inhabitants of Boston, who played the chief part in the opening scenes of the Revolution, acted only in legal town meetings, duly called by the selectmen, and properly organized. An irregular convention of deputies from the towns in Massachusetts was held at Boston in 1768 ; but it was called only on account of the refusal of the governor to convene the General Court ; and it sat but a few days, and did but little business, for the confidence of the people was not with it. The members expressly disclaimed "any pretence to authoritative, or governmental acts," and soon gladly resigned their task of defending the people's rights into the hands of the people's legal representatives. The delegates to the first Continental Congress were chosen, sometimes by the regular Assemblies, sometimes by a convention of committees appointed by the people for this purpose, and, in a few instances, by the committees themselves. "It is not likely," says Mr. Sparks, "that in a single elective body on the continent, there was an instance of a member's taking his seat, without exhibiting a well authenticated certificate, that he was duly chosen."* The credentials of the members are printed in full in the journals of the old Congress, and it appears, that they were examined before the individuals were allowed to take their seats. We find there the certificate of the governor of Rhode Island, given under the Colonial seal, certifying that Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward had been duly nominated and appointed delegates by the General Assembly of the Colony. Similar certificates, though without the signature of the governor, were presented by the members from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and South

* Sparks's *Life of Morris*, I. p. 32.

Carolina. Mr. Jefferson himself, the author of the "Declaration," took his seat under credentials duly approved by the General Assembly of Virginia. The members from the city and county of New York produced certificates, that they had been chosen "by duly certified polls." Other counties in New York sent delegates, and in two of them, at least, Orange and Westchester, it seems that only "*freeholders*" voted, after the manner of the old elections. And it was undoubtedly the general rule throughout the country, that in choosing members of conventions, provincial congresses, or committees for appointing delegates to the Continental Congress, only those were allowed to act who were regularly qualified to vote according to the standing laws or practice of each Colony. Exceptions there may have been in some cases, under very pressing emergencies, when business was transacted in great haste, or under great excitement; but the general rule was unquestionably as we have stated.

We will not weary the patience of our readers by adducing further evidence to show, that the spirit of the American Revolution is directly opposed to the pretensions and the conduct of the insurgent party in Rhode Island. We feel as if it were an insult to the memory of the patriots who achieved our independence, to pursue the comparison that we have here instituted. It is necessary to go to the history of other countries, or to some later and more mournful passages in our own annals, to find a fit parallel to the proceedings of the Suffrage party. We find one in the disgraceful and terrific scenes of the earlier part of the French Revolution, when all France groaned under the tyranny of the mob of Paris and its environs, when constitutions were made, sworn to, and abrogated, as if they were the playthings of an hour, and when the pernicious doctrines of Jacobinism were first preached to the world, and enforced by the pike, the bayonet, and the guillotine. Illegal assemblies usurped the character and office of duly appointed legislatures. Unauthorized clubs overawed the government, and the reign of terror susperseded that of order and law. The theory, that any collection of individuals may assume the name of "the people," may pursue their ends by means of intimidation and force, and mould the constitution of the state to their own will, was there carried out and illustrated in a way equally shocking to reason and humanity.

Since the separation of this country from England, there have been three formidable revolts against the authority of the established government, each of which caused great terror and excitement at the time, but was finally subdued by a large military force, with little bloodshed, and a signal display of clemency towards the vanquished. The first was the Shays rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1786 ; the second was the "whiskey insurrection," in 1794, in the western part of Pennsylvania ; and the third was the rebellion that we have now been considering. Of these three, the last was far the most flagitious, as it was unprovoked by any practical grievance, and not palliated by any distress in the circumstances of the insurgent population. It was a causeless revolt, not incited by the weight of heavy taxation, not growing out of commercial distress, nor nurtured by the destitution and misery of the disaffected classes. In every respect but this, the rebellion first mentioned affords a remarkable parallel to it. The closest resemblance exists between the two, in regard to the character and numbers of the rebels, the doctrines that they advanced, and the means by which they were suppressed.

The disturbances in Massachusetts grew out of the sick and exhausted condition of the whole country at the close of the Revolutionary war. Public and private debts existed to an enormous amount, agriculture and commerce stagnated, taxation was heavy, and distress was universal. At this time, Shays and his associates undertook to shut up the courts by violence, and to intimidate the government into the adoption of their unjust and arbitrary measures. It is certain, that their party had the majority in several counties ; it is quite probable, that they had the majority in the whole State ; for their great object was to postpone the decision of the whole matter till a new legislature should be chosen, when they were confident of obtaining the command of both branches. They held unlicensed conventions, in which more than fifty towns were represented, "voted their own constitutionality," assumed the name of the people, demanded a revision of the constitution, arrayed themselves against the legislature, and demanded the redress of grievances with arms in their hands. Job Shattuck, one of their leaders, at the head of an armed force, took possession of the court-house at Worcester, and sent a written message to

the judges, "that *it was the sense of the people*, that the courts should not sit." "They thought themselves," says Minot, the historian of the insurrection, "they thought themselves to be a majority of the people, as some pretended, and so vested with a supreme power of altering whatever appeared to them to be wrong in the polity of the country." Washington was asked to use his great personal influence to stay the mad proceedings of the rebels. He replied :

"You talk, my good Sir, of employing *influence* to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found; nor, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for these disorders. Influence is not government. Let us have a government, by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

"Let the reins of government then be braced," he continued, "and held with a steady hand; and every violation of the constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended; *but not suffered to be trampled upon while it has existence.*"

Mr. Madison, also, in a number of the "Federalist," alluding to this very rebellion, says :

"At first view, it might not seem to square with the republican theory, to suppose either that a majority have not the right, or that a minority will have the force, to subvert a government; and, consequently, that the federal interposition can never be required, but when it would be improper. But theoretic reasoning in this, as in most cases, must be qualified by the lessons of practice. *Why may not illicit combinations for purposes of violence be formed as well by a majority of a State, especially of a small State, as by a majority of a county, or a district of the same State;* and if the authority of the State ought, in the latter case, to protect the local magistracy, *ought not the federal authority*, in the former, *to support the State authority?*"

At last, by great exertions on the part of the government and the well affected citizens, an army of four thousand men, under General Lincoln, was fitted out, and after a very severe campaign in the midst of winter, this dangerous insurrection was suppressed with but little loss of life.* Not one

* If our brethren in Rhode Island have had some cause to complain of the laxity and unfriendliness of the government of Massachusetts, in not affording them sufficient aid and countenance during the recent disturbances, we may refer them to the Shays rebellion, as showing the other side of the picture, and proving that they were not always very active in their

of the rebels suffered capital punishment, though many had richly deserved that fate.

We cannot dwell upon the history of the rebellion in Pennsylvania. There, too, a great majority of the people in the disaffected country were banded together in open opposition to the government and the laws. Their conduct was such, says Pitkin, "that no alternative was left, but either to surrender the government into the hands of the lawless and disobedient, or compel submission by military force." President Washington issued a proclamation, declaring "that the very existence of the government, and the fundamental principles of social order, are materially involved in the issue," and requiring the insurgents to disperse and retire to their homes. When this had no effect, by calling out the militia of the neighbouring States, he assembled a force of over twelve thousand men, and with its aid effectually quelled the insurrection. Mercy was again shown to the vanquished.

But what chiefly distinguishes the rebellion in Rhode Island both from the one in Massachusetts, and from that in Pennsylvania, and which aggravates the criminality of the former in the highest degree, is the fact, that redress of the only grievances, of which the disaffected party complained, was offered to them in the incipient stages of their revolt, *and was refused.* They were permitted to vote, in February, 1842, upon the "Landholders' Constitution," which would have established a government in every respect unexceptionable, and they rejected it. For the first time, per-

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duties towards us. After the main body of the insurgents was defeated and dispersed, parties of them took refuge in the neighbouring States, and continued to keep up the alarm and excitement in the border towns, by returning to Massachusetts from time to time, and resuming their former measures. Governor Bowdoin applied to the executive authorities of these States to put an end to such irregular proceedings, and to apprehend and deliver up the refugees. In most instances, the application was successful, but not in all. The historian Minot shall tell the rest.

"But the authority of Rhode Island was far from taking steps to secure the fugitives from justice, who publicly resorted there. When a motion was made in their Assembly, upon the act of Massachusetts for apprehending the principals of the rebellion being read, that a law should be passed, requesting the Governor to issue a proclamation for apprehending them, if within that State, it was lost by a great majority; *and one of the very refugees was allowed a seat within their chamber.*" Minot's *History of he Insurrection.* p. 152.

"Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."

haps, in the annals of the world, the people declared, that they would not have *reform*, and preferred *revolution*. They stood out upon a mere punctilio, saying that they would not accept the matter as a gift, but were determined to seize upon it by an armed force, as their own right. They acted as if it were a light thing to kindle the flames of civil war, to array members of the same family on opposite sides, and to destroy by violence the constituted authority of the State. No language is too strong to be applied to such nefarious and inhuman conduct. We justly shrink with horror from the man who has struck his parent. But what can be thought of him, who raises a parricidal hand against his country, the common parent of all, to whom every reasonable being owes the greatest measure of filial homage and obedience? Therefore has treason always been distinguished as the highest crime known to the law, and the traitor is singled out for the universal detestation of mankind.

These remarks do not tend in the slightest degree to disparage the motives or the conduct of the illustrious men who have been found, in all ages of the world, eager to withstand oppression, and to contend in the cause of freedom and of right, against an unjust and arbitrary government, though at the hazard of their lives, and of every thing which renders life desirable. Honor, everlasting honor, to their memories, whether they perished upon the scaffold, or lived to enjoy a nation's gratitude, and "read their triumph in a nation's eyes!" But "the sacred right of revolution," as it has been aptly termed, is not to be brought out of its shrine on any mean or ordinary occasion. It must not be used as a cloak for ambitious usurpation, for reckless love of change, or for treacherous revolt. A grave and fearful responsibility rests upon those who exercise it, and unless the cause be just, and the necessity of the case be urgent, not even a successful issue of the contest will relieve them, in the judgment of posterity, from the censure due to the traitor and the enemy of his native land. The patriot's fame depends as much on the caution and reluctance with which he unsettles the foundations of government, and opposes the established authorities of the state, as on the courage and perseverance which he manifests in the midst of the strife. He is answerable for all the misery and desolation that follow in the train of civil war; for the evil passions that are excited;

for the blood that is shed ; for the affections that are sundered ; for the quiet of many a peaceful family that is interrupted, and the happiness of many a fireside that is destroyed ; and great must be the interests at stake, noble must be the principles for which he contends, or he will find the burden of this responsibility too heavy to be borne. He will sink under it, amidst the execrations of those who owe to him the ruin of their prosperity, and the wreck of their dearest hopes.

Loyalty is not an unmeaning word in a republic. It is due to the free institutions by which we are surrounded, to the establishments created by the wisdom of our fathers, and transmitted as the noblest heritage to their children. To cherish this feeling is our best safeguard against anarchy and licentiousness, evils which, in a modern democracy, are to be feared at least as much as oppression and misrule. Patriotism was considered as the highest virtue in the Roman republic, and it has lost none of its value or significance in these our times. Its object, indeed, is not the ground on which we tread, nor the homes wherein we dwell, nor the individuals whom we call our countrymen, though with most of them we have no nearer connexion than if they lived on the other side of the boundary line. Its object is rather the body politic of which we are a part ; it is the state to which we owe allegiance ; it is the government, by whose acts we are bound. This obligation may quickly be broken, it is true ; the tie may easily be ruptured, for it is the nature of a popular government to rest lightly upon the community, and to be guarded only by the affections of those over whom it extends. But if the act be rashly or recklessly done, it will be the sure source of misery and strife, that can end only in the prostration of our liberties, by subjection to the yoke of another country, or to the hard rule of a military despot.

ART. VI. — *Rural Architecture : consisting of Classic Dwellings, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Gothic, and Details connected with each of the Orders ; embracing Plans, Elevations, &c.* Designed for the United States of America. By EDWARD SHAW, Architect. Boston : James B. Dow. 1843.

ARCHITECTURE is, beyond question, the oldest and most impressive of the fine arts. In several important points of view, it demands precedence over its more popular accessories, sculpture and painting. Without claiming for it a higher station than will be readily conceded by persons of taste, it may be observed, that these two arts are merely its subsidiary embellishments, and that, in some degree, it is the union and embodiment of both. It ought not, then, to be viewed as less interesting than either. Its various stages of progress furnish abundant opportunity for reflection, and a wide theme for profitable remark. It has been regarded as so direct a means of inspiring the imagination, and creating sublime ideas in the mind, as to be assigned, by ingenious writers, to a high place among those causes which affect the character of an age, and exert a prominent influence over the moral and intellectual habits of a people. It is not, then, from any want of untouched matter, or of fresh subjects for the use of the pen, that so little notice of its present condition among us, has lately appeared in this Journal. On the contrary, there is quite enough in the recent works of our builders to engage the attention of the *amateur*, and demand the animadversions of the critic. We will readily admit, indeed, that the maxim, *nil dictum quod non dictum prius*, should be carefully kept in view while speaking of this polite and liberal art. But this maxim, in architecture as in law, should be applied to general principles, and not to new circumstances, or to novel combinations of facts. Whenever these arise, it is certainly well to improve upon them. We would not attempt to advance new doctrines, or to advocate any startling novelties of opinion ; we would only bring some of those true principles again before the public, which were long since settled and acknowledged by high authority, but which seem in frequent danger, among us, of being overlooked, slighted, or forgotten. We enter upon

this course with the full conviction, that the pursuit of it has always proved beneficial to the art. For the common consent of cultivated minds has fully established this truth, that the system of the ancient architects does not admit of any wide departure from precedent and usage, and if its fundamental principles are in any degree contravened, the certain and speedy consequence will be the degradation and debasement of all its real beauties.

With pleasure, therefore, should we hail even the faint indication of a desire to study the spirit and meaning, instead of reproducing the mere forms and details, of the works of our predecessors. So long as this energy, this sensibility of taste, is wanting, there remains one, at least, of the highest marks of civilization, to which we can have no valid claim. The great test of excellence in design has been repeatedly declared to be this, — that there should be no parts about a building which are not necessary for *convenience*, *construction*, and *propriety*, while the neglect of this rule is undoubtedly the immediate cause of all the bad architecture of the present time. Mr. Jefferson is said to have remarked, in reference to the style of building which prevailed in his day, that "the genius of architecture seemed to have shed a peculiar malediction over America." Little is it to be wondered at, that such should have been the honest conviction of an acute observer, and a man of tolerable taste, at a time when the weak puerilities of Latrobe and his rivals formed the most elevated standard of our architectural excellence. Those flaunting and meretricious edifices, the Capitol at Washington, and the State-house at Boston, stand forth to us as the highest efforts of their composition and invention, while all below them was left to the indiscriminate mercies of the house-joiner and the mason. But if this was the opinion of Mr. Jefferson forty years ago, it cannot be said that, at the present day, there is any reason to reverse the desponding verdict. The architectural faults and follies of his times have indeed passed away ; but we do not hesitate to affirm, that they have been succeeded by others of a different and more deplorable kind. If baldness and want of fancy were the bane of that period, the ostentatious meanness and stilted pretension of our contemporaries are not a whit better. An expression of character and appropriateness might have been wanting in the works of the former builders ; still it was, at least, aimed at

and attempted; the church was erected in one style, the senate-house in another, the private mansion in another. But with us, such discrimination is rarely shown; the elevation of the Parthenon, Erectheum, or the Ilissus is the Procustes bed, on which the relentless measure of all our public and private wants and uses is taken, and we are seldom allowed any alternative. Because a *façade* is beautiful in one situation, it is without hesitation adopted in all. A leaf cut out of Stuart's "Athens," that inexhaustible quarry of bad taste, supplies our *architect* with his design and his detail; he duplicates the columns of the Choragic monument under the crowded portico of the suburban citizen's *box*; and sacrifices, in every situation, all discrimination and all distinctive character to his imaginary Moloch of classical chasteness. We are almost tempted to suppose, that whenever he sits down to his drawing-board, an attendant stands close at his elbow, to whisper in his ear the dismal motto which, as Montaigne relates, was every day repeated by the pages of Darius; "Sir, remember the Athenians." So effectually does he remember them, that he finds room in his memory for nothing else. Without columns, he cannot compose any thing; and with them, he seems to think he cannot fail of being fine. Thus, market-house, cottage, bank, town-hall, law-school, church, brewery, and theatre, with him are all the same. It matters not how widely different their character, how exactly opposite their purpose. His blind admiration for the Grecian colonnade seems to obtrude the object of its bigotry into every situation where its inappropriateness becomes most evident and most ridiculous. Yet we grieve to record, that this servile manner of repetition has established itself in general practice, and finds plenty of advocates among those

> "Who talk of principles, but nothing prize,
> And all to one loved folly sacrifice."

Thus the hexastyle portico of Athens is, indeed, reproduced in every locality, and with every variety of material that ingenuity can devise; but the *fitness of the design to the purpose* for which it is intended, if recognized at all in theory, is much oftener honored in the breach than the observance, in practice.

While, then, these objects of tasteless and ignorant imitation are looking us in the face at every turn, it is scarcely

possible for any one to believe, that our architects possess a particle of that first of all requisites — invention. Is there any proof of its existence among them, when we see the same idea repeated by all, — flimsily disguised, perhaps, but still the same, hashed up and set before us again and again? It does not even appear, that they have often cultivated that lower excellence, which Reynolds allows the young painter sometimes to aim at, — the ability to borrow *with judgment* from the ideas of others, and to use them with grace and fancy. But how could any other result than this be expected? Like those self-satisfied Platonists, who, instead of following out their great master in his search for all truth, are content to stop short exactly where Plato left them, — they seem to have proposed to themselves a definite mark in their art, a limited boundary, beyond which they do not care to go. They are satisfied to overlook the fundamental rules of their profession, because they can earn a cheap and vulgar distinction by disregarding them; by reërecting the eternal temples of the tropics, in timber and plaster imitations on the bleak shores of New England.

> "On which the mazed people gaze and stare,
> And gape therefore." *Sir T. More.*

This is their loftiest flight of fancy, — the *ultima Thule* of their imagination. If ever varied, it is only to compose a new order which mocks at the grace of Pericles, — to invent a new arrangement of columns, that ingeniously destroys their propriety and perverts their use, or to place an idolatrous Egyptian gateway as an entrance to a place of Christian sepulture. In short, the locality, destination, and character of a structure appear to be the last considerations which find any place in the basis of their designs, while each new effort, each fresh proceeding, seems only to involve the arts in a deeper and more hopeless degradation.

Perhaps it will not be deemed sufficient to put forth this decided statement, without supporting it by a particular reference to individual examples. The bare assertions of the critic, when unsustained by tangible proof, will always pass for nothing. We heartily agree with Burnet in the determination "to lay aside that lazy and fallacious method of censuring by the lump, and so bring things close to the test of true or false." *Fraus latet in generalibus.* But we approach this necessary part of our task with reluctance, since the motives of it

are so open to misrepresentation, and so liable to mistake. It has always been the fate of those who set themselves to the reform of any crying abuse, to be rather censured for ill motives than applauded for good ones ; to encounter the apathy of indifference and the opposition of interest, when success would be without any personal advantage, and the result of their labors would prove of far less consequence to themselves, than to those who most strenuously take part against them. We cannot expect, in the present instance, to be exempted from the operation of the general rule. It will not be thought gratuitous, therefore, for us to assert, that we are actuated by no other feeling than a sincere desire to advance the cause of art, and to direct attention to the real merits of other and better days. Nor will it, we hope, be denied, that candor must always drive the impartial critic to a necessary degree of severity, and that in no other way, indeed, can we ever look for any serious reformation. The blunders of ignorance, and the more inexcusable absurdities of whim and caprice, should be plainly pointed out, that they may be ridiculed and avoided for the future. Let us, then, proceed to hold up the torch of truth to several of our costliest edifices, and examine them dispassionately by the light it affords. We will endeavour to keep close to Bishop Taylor's sensible rule, to "report things modestly and temperately, according to the degree of that persuasion which is, or ought to be, begotten by the efficacy of the authority, or the reason inducing thee." It cannot be supposed, that we shall here be unable to maintain the utmost frankness, unmixed either with fear or favor, when we declare, that in many cases we have never heard the architect mentioned at all, and that in none, do we know any thing more of him than barely the name.

The patronage of the general government has, of late, been sadly misapplied in Boston. We are free to go, at once, *in medias res*, and to confess, that the new Custom-house, now in progress of erection, is so incongruous and absurd a pile, that we scarcely know where to begin or where to end our enumeration of its deformities. To avoid the charge of unfairness, however, we will endeavour to arrange its faults under separate and distinct specifications.

1. Its *construction* is eminently defective. The constructive talent of an architect is shown, in a great measure, by

the ratio which is found to exist between the solid points of support, and the covered areas of his building. It is plain, that he who makes so judicious a use of the means allowed him, as to enclose the same space and to provide the same accommodation in the interior, using one half only of the material employed by another, and still preserving the greatest degree of strength that can ever be necessary in the walls of his structure, will be (so to express it) twice as scientific an architect as he who is obliged to make use of double the quantity. We have before us a printed table, in which the skill of Wren, as shown in the Cathedral church of St. Paul, is proved in this manner to be very superior to that of his predecessors in modern times,* — while Wren, in turn, falls far behind the wonderful geometrical knowledge of the Gothic architects, exemplified in the exquisite vaulted roofs and the airy towers and spires of the Middle Ages. This wise economy of material is regarded by scientific persons, as the first and highest evidence of merit. But let any one, who is competent to judge, examine the *section* of this Custom-house, as drawn and published by the architect himself, and, bearing this rule of estimation in mind, he will not think it too much to say, that the constructive talent shown in it is small indeed. He will see, that there is enough material for at least three buildings of the same size, and will stand astonished at perceiving the amount of room which is lost in the gloomy vestibules, and the stupendous loads of masonry in the interior walls and the squat piers of the lower stories. Why the space thus sacrificed was not used to

* St. Peter's Church at Rome, St. Mary's at Florence, St. Paul's at London, and St. Geneviève at Paris, are the four largest modern churches of Europe. The relation between their areas and their points of support is shown in the following comparative view:

	Eng. Feet.		Eng. Feet.	Proportion of the latter to the former.
St. Peter's stands on an area of	227,069	of which area its points of support occupy	59,308	0·261
St. Mary's	84,802		17,030	0·201
St. Paul's	84,025		14,311	0·170
St. Geneviève	60,287		9,629	0·154

But the latter building failed so alarmingly, that it can hardly be drawn into a comparison with the three others; for it was found necessary to increase the points of support under the cupola to a considerable extent. The constructive merit, therefore, of the three first named will be to each other as the numbers 261, 201, and 170, inversely. See Mr. Gwilt's "*Account of St. Paul's Cathedral,*" p. 21.

greater advantage, it is, perhaps, impossible to conjecture. The staircases, also, are steep and narrow, and entirely want that dignity which they should possess, as the only means of approach to the great central rotunda. All the stones employed in the building are too large, and though this is effected at an enormously increased cost, it detracts very considerably from the effect of the edifice, by diminishing its apparent scale. Such extravagantly *large stones always destroy proportion ;* they enlarge the *scale* of the masonry, instead of *multiplying the parts.* Hence, a large building constructed in this manner, in effect, is only a smaller one magnified. Such blocks are by no means necessary for strength or durability, for the time-defying structures of the Middle Ages are reared with stones scarcely larger than ordinary bricks. It is said, that there are few stones in York Cathedral, which the workmen could not have carried up in their hands. No such practice prevailed among the sensible Greeks, and it is very justly reprehended in some of the most approved books on the subject.

2. The *plan* of this ill-judged building is that of an hypæthral temple ; but the architect has, in the outset, very gratuitously violated the standard of taste which he himself had set up, by placing his prostyle porticos on the flank of the cell, and composing the principal elevations with engaged, three-quarter columns of Grecian Doric ! Of course, the result is one incongruous mass of jumbled features and discordant characteristics. Nothing, in any style, can be more trivial than the use of engaged columns ; they are to be classed among the worst faults of the ductile school of Palladio, where they are sometimes tolerated for their picturesque effect ; but they must be universally considered as totally opposed to the severity of the Attic orders. " A column," says a writer of high authority, " is an architectural member, which should only be employed when a superincumbent weight is required to be sustained without the intervention of a solid wall ; but the moment a wall is built, the necessity and propriety of columns cease, and engaged columns always produce the effect of having been once detached, and the intermediate spaces blocked up afterwards." The correctness of this remark will be instantly appreciated by any one who examines the columns of the Custom-house, from any point of view. Their ill effect is materially increased

by the harsh nakedness of the real wall behind them. They have, too, this additional disadvantage, that, together with the overhanging entablature, they very seriously obstruct the light of the windows, and shut in the view obtained from them to a much more confined range of vision. The absolute removal of these excrescences would be the first step necessary to make either front compatible with a truly classical style.

3. Several of the most important *details* are wretched. The windows are mere holes in the wall, not relieved by any architrave mouldings, and even wanting capitals and sills. This is the most effectual method that can be devised, to secure blankness and poverty in a design. It is received as a maxim in architecture, and one which the merest tyro is expected to understand, that the most useful parts of a building are first to be made ornamental, leaving the less useful subordinate to them in style and finish. It is in plain accordance with reason, that those ornaments which bear with them the evidence of utility ought invariably to be applied, before we venture upon such as are purely decorative. When facings to the windows, therefore, are wholly omitted, it is contrary to all principle to adorn any part of the elevation with columns, or even pilasters ; for windows are, first of all, essential to the use of the building to which they belong. Yet the blank walls, thus unrelieved by any agreeable projections, are here decked out with all the pomp of fluted columns, entablature, and pediment. These offensive inequalities of taste betray very little real notion of propriety, and should have been better considered of in so large and expensive a structure.

The elevated stylobate, on which the columns are raised, is full of apertures to give light and entrance to the basement. We will attempt no criticism upon this expedient ; it is equally beyond the reach of reasoning, irony, and invective. It may be said, that these openings were indispensable for convenience. Admit it ; but the architect must have known all this beforehand. Why, then, did he adopt a style, the rigid severity of which, above all others, is so foreign to these fantastic tricks ? Throughout the whole, as it is, he has been continually hampered by his design.

> " As a dog, committed close
> For some offence, by chance breaks loose,
> And quits his clog ; — but all in vain,
> He still draws after him his chain." *Hudibras.*

It compelled him to add a cyma to the proper entablature, to remove the metopes from the frieze, and substitute glazed windows between the triglyphs, opening into the space behind the cornice. Though it should now be futile to censure these barbarisms, we deem it a duty thus openly to bear our testimony against them. "The public at large," observes the acute Dr. McCulloch, "has a claim over the architecture of a country. It is common property, inasmuch as it involves the national taste and character; and no man has a right to pass himself and his own barbarous inventions as a national taste, or to hand down to posterity his own ignorance and disgrace to be a satire and libel on the knowledge and taste of his age." But what idea will posterity be likely to form of the government architects of the nineteenth century, or of the government commissioners, who could abet such reckless squandering?

We have thought it expedient thus to go through with this structure, step by step, and to leave no serious error in it unnoticed, because it is a fair type of the whole class of modern Grecian edifices, and the solecisms upon which we have here animadverted are observable in nearly all. It is, also, without doubt, one of the most expensive undertakings ever attempted in Boston. More than eight hundred thousand dollars have not been sufficient to raise it to a proper height to receive the *dome*, — its last and crowning absurdity. By what precedent, what reason, or what rule of taste, a Doric temple is bestridden in such a way, must for ever lie beyond the comprehension of ordinary individuals; while the additional sums of money, which will be needed to complete it, may justly be considered a problem to tax the ingenious calculations of the economist to their utmost limit. After all this vast outlay, it is confidently asserted by practical judges, that the interior will never afford the requisite accommodation for the revenue offices, in a large and rapidly increasing metropolis. Its aspect, to say the least, is sufficiently gloomy and forbidding; the sullen "caves of Domdaniel" could scarcely inspire more cheerless emotions; and we question if the ill-digested arrangement of the principal apartments will not prove very inconvenient for the transaction of the business. What might have been effected, had the architect been willing to shake off the arbitrary and whimsical restrictions with which he has fettered

himself, we will not now venture to suggest. But in the present edifice, at least, we may look in vain for any confirmation of the sentiment of Cowper, that

> "Art thrives most
> Where commerce has enriched the busy coast:
> He catches all improvements in their flight,
> Spreads foreign wonders in his country's sight,
> Imports what others have invented well,
> And stirs his own to match them, or excel."

The High School, erected in Bedford street during the past year, is another exemplar of the worst taste. Though it presents only one front to the eye, that towards the street, on which the architect has bestowed all the pretension of the building, it yet contains, in that one, nearly as many faults as it is possible, by any ingenuity, to collect in so small a space. The lower story is in rusticated work, which, when properly executed, is susceptible of a high degree of appropriate effect. But that which is here employed is copied from the manner of the vicious French school, — consisting only of shallow horizontal stripes, as meagre and unmeaning as they are offensively monotonous. They really contribute nothing towards the intended expression of solidity, having rather the effect of weak places in the masonry. The simple introduction of vertical joints, with a different tooling of the raised surface, admitting, as it does, great diversity of arrangement and distribution, would have produced a very different result, and changed the whole character of the basement, from utter tastelessness to characteristic and pleasing beauty. This edifice is also without any door in the front, so that all visible means of obtaining entrance to it are entirely wanting. Those who watched the progress of its erection may indeed know, that the doors are constructed in the sides; but to one who sees it for the first time, there is no evidence of any such fact; and we can conceive, that an intelligent foreigner would be sadly puzzled to find his way into the apparently impregnable stronghold.

"Scamozzi," observes Sir William Chambers, "compares the door to the mouth of an animal, and as nature," says he, "has placed the one in the middle of the face, so the architect ought to place the other *in the middle of the front of the edifice;* that being the most noble situation, the most majestic and convenient." But when it is left out of the design altogether, it is almost useless to pass a censure

upon an example of so low a character. If an increased convenience in the *plan* be assigned as the reason for this strange proceeding, we are satisfied, that every person of common discernment will peremptorily disallow it. A considerable degree of inconvenience should be submitted to, before such a gross violation of rule is committed. Nor would this result have been inevitable ; for, by a little painstaking and contrivance, the architect might have avoided any ill arrangement of the interior. Such flimsy excuses are becoming by far too common. " When the Devil can't swim," says the old proverb, " he always lays the fault on the water." It is, at the best, but a very feeble apology for ignorance ; and we insist, that the door should in all cases be placed in the principal front, though it only find a place in one corner of it, as in Mr. Barry's exquisite Traveller's Club House. Thus, the architect, though unable to conform exactly to recognized principles, shows, at least, that he entertains some little respect for them.

" Si
Non videtur meruisse laudem, culpâ caruisse."

The windows of the principal floor are adorned with handsome facings ; but this species of decoration is wholly omitted in the next, or highest story. We are presented, therefore, with a row of plain apertures, over windows properly executed in themselves, but thus thrown wholly out of keeping, and appearing quite foreign to the taste displayed in all the rest of the weak composition to which they are attached. A mixture of apertures with and without dressings, in the same *façade*, is one of the most glaring solecisms that can be committed. These blunders, however, are even surpassed by the highly original pediment, finished, as it is, in bold defiance of every recognized principle of building, and capping this small front with a perfect climax of absurdity. There is no horizontal entablature, but in its place, a profuse display of costly flourishes in granite, overhung by a bold, raking cornice, that appears in no way improved by its most unjustifiable divorce from its horizontal companion. In short, we believe, that there are very few offences, that can be committed against the simplest *principia* of architecture, which have been overlooked, or left out of this design, — so that it seems to have been composed, not with any intention of conforming to rules, but by way of a pleasant defiance to all of

them. Yet all the mouldings employed are savagely Grecian in profile, and even the contraction of the architraves to the windows is rigorously copied from Athenian examples. Where this excess of pretension exists on the one hand, it is natural to expect some little excellence of performance on the other ; but we fear it will be found, that the present age stands not more apart from all others for the vain boasts of its architecture, than for its real and immeasurable inferiority. We have abundant reason to cry out against the defects of the prevailing system, when we find its consequent evils thus coming home upon ourselves.

The front of the Tremont theatre was noticed in a former number of this Journal,* as one of the best proportioned and most agreeable structures in Boston. But since the publication of the article referred to, it has undergone a fearful change. The rusticated arcade of the lower story has been destroyed, the arched openings being filled in with long, straight blocks of stone, and the solid wall which flanked them, at the extremities of the *façade*, receiving a similar kind of treatment. This was done to adapt them to shop fronts, while the next or principal story has fared, if possible, somewhat worse. From the niches, where stood the statues of the tragic and comic Muses, statues, pedestals, and wall, have alike been pulled away, and the circular-headed spaces filled up with flaring glazed windows, divided into two lights by a floor cutting them across the middle. It can be imagined, how well these assimilate with the handsome, square-headed windows, which open in the central intercolumns. Five recessed panels next above these have also been opened and glazed, making a kind of *mezzanine* story, which could nowhere be more unsightly than in its present situation. The granite front, having begun to acquire a few picturesque tints from the action of the weather, has been scrubbed, and hammered, and pointed, until it looks like a staring geometrical drawing in an architect's portfolio. The interior has been barbarized into a lath and plaster hybrid of church and concert-hall, — an ingenious reconciliation of God and Mammon which it remained for the liberal and enlightened nineteenth century to discover. The superb Corinthian columns, which formerly adorned the

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII., p. 364.

proscenium, and which shone with every grace that form and color could impart, have been pulled down, and wantonly sacrificed "for a song" at a public auction. Instead of the tasteful and even elegant interior, which it formerly exhibited, and of which every Bostonian had reason to be proud, a desolate and monotonous expanse of dirty white is now spread before the eye, — small cast-iron props sustaining enormous galleries, and bare, unpainted pine supplanting all the former attractions of drapery and gilding. "Patience," exclaimed old Sir Henry Lee, "is a good nag, but she will bolt sometimes;" and we must take the license to confess, that we have scarcely any terms in which adequately to speak our idea of this Vandalic spoliation.

The Exchange, in State street, has many faults, with very few real beauties to counterbalance them. The proportions of the front are, indeed, tolerably good, and there is some dignity of effect produced by the breadth and regularity of its shadows. But the capitals of the great pilasters are bald and trivial, and the entablature must be objected to, as far too plain for the somewhat ornate character of the building. It is a grand mistake with our modern Grecian imitators, that they expend their whole means upon the columnar arrangement, to the neglect of all the other parts which require an equal attention. The *frieze* is almost universally left quite plain, however high a degree of embellishment is bestowed upon the lower members of the order. The columns, according to the present practice, predominate too obtrusively, and their capitals often appear cumbrous with enrichment, while the superior entablature is nude and insignificant. This produces a sad poverty of effect, inverting the natural order of enrichment, and leaving a disagreeable *hiatus* in the propriety of the whole design. Among the Greeks, the frieze was rarely without the highest decoration that sculpture could bestow; the metopes of the Parthenon were adorned with the master-pieces of Phidias, and the tympanum of the pediment was crowded with the exquisitely sculptured ideals of their whole mythology. The temple of Minerva was only the *frame* to the Elgin marbles. Where every thing of this kind is wanting, it will always be noticed, that there is an utter absence of the richness which belongs to the upper line of the structure. If continued sculpture be rejected, on account of its increased expense,

there should, at least, be a plenty of ornament of some other kind. Rich voluted scrolls, and other designs of the same character, might be introduced with great beauty of effect, and would tend, in a great degree, to produce that harmony and consistency of embellishment, which is the hightest charm of a building, and which convinces the spectator, that one predominating principle has regulated the whole design. There is nothing, in architecture, worse than tasteless misapplication; it is wearing the second-hand clothes, and not the *garb* of the ancients; it has the effect of bringing the resources of modern builders into the humiliating position of a kind of architectural Brattle street. If it be received as an important truth, that nothing, however subordinate in itself, is to be passed over without its due share of attention, it certainly must be allowed that the entablature, the highest and most imposing member of the superstructure, should be carefully studied with reference to its effect upon the whole. "If you cannot be consistent in decoration," says an eminent critic, "at least be consistent in the omission of it, and do not seem even to *aim* at what you can only imperfectly accomplish. If circumstances prevent you from producing a finished picture, do not work up parts, here and there, while others are merely sketched in; in a word, attend to *keeping*."

So far, however, as ornamental sculpture appears upon this front at all, like Obadiah, "it had better been a league off." Who can look without laughing at the allegorical display over the front entrance, where every separate emblem of commerce is cut to a scale of its own, and grouped in a style that puts Hogarth's perspective to the blush; the "almighty dollar" expanded to the size of a dinner plate; the mast of a merchantman shrunk to the dimensions of a walking cane; and "the great globe itself" hardly emulating in size the proportions of a portly pumpkin? There is no wonder, that this effort of native design, when first elevated to its place, attracted such crowds of delighted lookers on. The architect must, in sooth, be a superstitious mortal, who could put his faith in such an uncouth enormity.

The great hall of the interior, with its flat dome, its bright scagliola columns, its composed capitals, its staring white walls, and its profusion of plaster ornaments, now cracked in every direction, presents a tawdry and miserable failure.

Such things as these are not architecture, but frippery. They always mark the composition of one who goes pompously to work, after other people's ideas, without possessing enough of his own to arrange them; "perpetually misquoting and misapplying his authorities, and sneaking about in his stolen peacock's feathers, in the most unpeacock-like manner imaginable."

Under the same category with the foregoing, would we include the Custom-house at New York, and the Girard college at Philadelphia. It ought by this time to have been discovered, that a Greek temple and a sash-windowed house of three stories are ill reconciled to each other in the same edifice. The Grecian style scarcely affords a precedent for any accommodation to the wants or uses of our own time; least of all, is it to be chosen in a building where the windows constantly occur in the different floors, and become so numerous as to influence the whole composition, and stamp it with a character entirely at variance with the expression professedly attempted in the elevations. "It is hardly possible," says Mr. Leeds, "to reconcile the *columnar* with the *fenestral* character; since, at the best, a certain *tertium quid* will be the result, — an Italianized Grecian, or a Grecianized Italian design." Doric and plate-glass have a natural antipathy, which no ingenuity can overcome; chimney pots certainly rise above a pediment with a less pleasing effect than the classical *acroteria;* and the necessary offices can never be added, either to the right or the left, without becoming in themselves a grievous sin against architectural fitness, and producing a most uneven and discordant effect upon the whole.

We proceed to the examination of one other example in support of our preliminary remarks. The church in Somerset place, which has been recently completed, has called forth several unfavorable notices in one of the most influential public journals of the day, and appears to be regarded, not without reason, as a very faulty though pretending edifice. The front is, in fact, a *mask* only, built with finished and costly material, and carried up to quite an elevated height, having a *façade* of very considerable architectural pretension, with a true Attic pitch of roof, and containing no other apertures throughout its whole extent than the three doors of entrance. But the side elevations must be admitted

to present a woful contrast to the assumed elegance of the front. Roughly and coarsely built, of very inferior material, without one particle of ornament, or even of customary finish, they absolutely fall below the style of construction that is adopted in the most common warehouses, machine-shops, and founderies in the suburbs and low outskirts of the city. On the east side, the Church is closely hemmed in by a row of handsome dwelling-houses ; but even this does not prevent the shallow facing of stone from obtruding itself upon the eye, as, scarcely three inches round the corner, it is backed up with the coarse brick-work of which we have spoken ; while, on the west side, the whole is still open to a public street, presenting an aspect of architectural hideousness, that is certainly unsurpassed by any similar exhibition we have ever noticed. The observations of Mr. Pugin upon this manner of church building are so exactly appropriate in this connexion, and so fully express the ideas which we would convey, that we adopt them with a very hearty pleasure. These forcible remarks occur in his late work, " The true Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, set forth in Two Lectures " ; a book which claims the highest consideration for the keen discrimination, the honest severity, and the thorough understanding of the subject, which it everywhere exhibits.

" A room full of seats at the least possible cost is the present idea of a church ; and, if ornament is indulged in, it is a mere screen to catch the eye of the passer by, which is a most contemptible deception to hide the meanness of the real building. How often do we see a front gable carried up to a respectable pitch, and we might naturally infer that this is the termination, both as regards height and form, of the actual roof; but on turning the corner, we soon perceive that it is a mere wall, cramped to hold it in its position, and that it conceals a very meeting-house behind, with a flat roof, and low, thin walls, perforated by mean apertures, and without a single feature or detail to carry out the appearance it assumed toward the street. The severity of Christian architecture is opposed to all this deception. We should never make a building erected to God appear better than it really is, by artificial means. These are showy, worldly expedients, adapted only for those who live by splendid deception. Yet, in these times, *all that does not catch the eye is neglected.* A rich looking antipendium often conceals rough materials, a depository for candle-ends and an accumula-

tion of dirt, which are allowed to remain, simply because they are out of sight. All plaster, cast-iron, and composition ornaments, painted like stone or oak, are mere impositions, and although very suitable for a tea-garden, are utterly unworthy of a sacred edifice. "*Omne secundum ordinem, et honeste fiat.*" Let every man build to God according to his means, but not practise showy deceptions; better is it to do a little substantially, and consistently with truth than to produce a great but fictitious effect. Hence, the rubble wall and oaken rafter of antiquity yet impress the mind with feelings of reverent awe, which never could be produced by the cement and plaster imitations of elaborate tracery, and the florid designs which, in these times, are stuck about our mimic churches in disgusting profusion." *

We have thus endeavoured to fortify ourselves upon the broad ground we assumed in the outset, and to give a reason for the decided opinions to which we shall always adhere. But unlike the fat knight of Eastcheap, we give it only "upon compulsion." We allude to existing examples only because it is necessary, while we sincerely deplore the necessity that compels us thus to speak. We would not willingly detract from any merit which the buildings we have criticized may be found to possess; far less would we seek to undervalue the professional reputation of their architects beyond that point to which their own works condemn them. Toward each of these gentlemen, indeed, we feel every inclination to observe the "Complete Angler's" advice as to impaling the minnow; to "treat him tenderly, as though you loved him." There is here no possible motive for that undue severity, which defeats its own object, and stupidly overshoots the mark at which it attempts to aim. But Sir John Harrington has wisely told us, that

> "It is an act of virtue and of piety
> To warn men of their sins in every sort;"

and these gentlemen will do well to recollect, that, if they have chosen to accept the emolument of such works as they have given to the world, they must also be content to bear the odium which of right belongs to them.

We trust, then, it will be conceded, that we are no dogmatists in the opinions we have now expressed. We have only gone about to try the architecture of our times by the

* Pugin's *Christian Architecture.*

standard of received maxims, which, as it has been seen, are often quoted, *ipsissimis verbis*, from the most distinguished authorities. We think there can be little doubt, that the examination has been fairly conducted. And the impression which it leaves on the mind, only strengthens us in the views we have gradually been led to adopt, from the frequent and careful reading of the most pains-taking architectural criticism of the day. We are firm in the belief, that the introduction of Grecian architecture among us has been a great mistake. Its edifices belong to another climate ; they are the legitimate offspring of a remote age, an antagonistic religion, an obsolete form of government, and a widely different state of society from our own. With us they have no concern. As well might the stately, statue-like tragedies of Euripides be expected to supplant, on our modern stage, the glowing pictures of Shakspeare and Otway. Beautiful as may be the forms which this pure style assumed, when used by its original authors, — chaste and elegant as are the Parian columns that lie scattered "on Sunium's marbled steep,"— majestic as appears the frowning temple of Jupiter, or the elegant shrine of the guardian goddess of Athens, standing in their sublime solitude on the hills of Attica, we must still conclude, that the forms and uses to which it was then applied are far too few to satisfy the numerous and complex demands of modern art. It has, indeed, been studied with devoted diligence, and defended by its advocates with an almost Quixotic zeal. It has been declared to possess every excellence, and to combine every beauty. But whatever may be thought or said of it, *in the abstract*, we only see that it has, so far, failed to produce among us a single example that does not contradict and stultify itself repeatedly, upon the most cursory reference to the principles of its ancient prototypes. It must certainly be admitted to be deficient in variety. Originally exhibited under only one form, it is unfair to expect that it can be pressed arbitrarily into the service of all. It cannot be moulded to every purpose, nor can we engraft upon it, with impunity, whatever features our own occasions may happen to call for ; whether they are provided for or not, in the limited theory of their originals. It is, therefore, by no means an easy task, in reducing the system of the Greeks to modern practice, to avoid even the most offensive and glaring inconsistencies ; to do so will yet

require a degree of inventive genius, that can harmonize contradictions and reconcile impossibilities ; that can go beyond the exact calculations of the ancients in accomplishing a certain proposed effect, and recast every part with reference to a new and different whole.

"If, after so long a trial of it," observes Mr. Leeds, "it be found utterly incapable of giving us any thing much better or more consistent than has hitherto been produced, and that we have already exhausted its powers of design, and the combinations it admits of, we have no very great reason to be surprised, if it should now be laid aside for a style, which not only readily adapts itself to our mode of building, but derives much of its character and effect from features for which ancient architecture makes no provision, or, rather, obstinately rejects."

If, however, Grecian architecture, from its marked unfitness for our wants and uses, is ever to be generally laid aside, what is there, it may be asked, that can be proposed as a substitute for it, at least in secular edifices ? In reply, we confess that there might, indeed, be few opportunities among us for developing the powers of the highest style which flourished after the revival of letters, — the style of Bramante, of Palladio, and of Michael Angelo ; but we should, on that account, be the more desirous to see some of them well improved. Introduced into England by the great master Inigo Jones, this fine manner was followed by Wren, Vanbrugh, Kent, and his patron, the accomplished Earl of Burlington, and exhibits itself in their works at Whitehall, and at Coleshill, in Berkshire, at St. Paul's Cathedral, at Blenheim, Chatsworth, and Castle Howard, and in the elegant front of Lord Burlington's own town mansion. Horace Walpole gives his impressions of the last named edifice in an account, which Mr. Britton calls "speaking of it in rapturous terms."

"As we have few samples of architecture more antique," says he, "and more imposing than that colonnade, I cannot help mentioning the effect it had on myself. I had not only never seen it, but had never heard of it, at least with any attention, when, soon after my return from Italy, I was invited to a ball at Burlington House. As I passed under the gate by night, it could not strike me. At daybreak, looking out of the window to see the sun rise, I was surprised with the vision of the colonnade that fronted me. It seemed one of those edifices in fairy tales that are raised by Genii in a night's time."

All the splendid piles to which we have alluded, are adorned with columns, in their various elevations, but are built to so extensive a scale, that their columns lose the insipid appearance of being employed as a means of decoration alone, which is often the case in the works of Palladio and his imitators. The superb fronts of Castle Howard, in particular, verify the truth of this remark. But the highest recommendation of the Italian style, and that for which we think it specially deserving of attention, is this ; that although it does not reject the application of porticos and columnar supports, a higher degree of expression and dignity is often to be obtained without them. The exquisite productions of Baldassare Peruzzi, of Francesco di Giorgio, and their pupils, afford us models for enthusiastic imitation. This manner is sometimes termed the *palazzo* style, — the style invented and adopted by masters who were painters as well as architects, — who judged of their *façades*, masses, and returns by their effect upon the eye, before reducing them to a pedantic ordeal of modules. The Palazzi Riccardi, Pandolfini, Strozzi, and Gondi at Florence, — the renowned Farnese, the splendid Massimi, at Rome, and the Piccolomini, at Siena, display a true greatness of manner, that belongs to all the productions of the *acme* of Italian art, — every member and portion of the detail being strictly analogous to the style and character of the building, and kept subservient to the feeling embodied in the whole. In England, two very striking examples have been erected within a few years by Mr. Charles Barry, the successful candidate in the competition for the New Houses of Parliament, and who stands, almost by acclamation, at the head of the British school of architecture. The Traveller's Club House, first, and the Reform Club House, built soon afterwards, have given very happy evidence of his peculiar and versatile talent. The eminent appropriateness, and the picturesque and striking beauty, of the manner which he had chosen, have, beyond question, greatly conduced to form a growing taste for the *palazzo* style among the architects of "the great metropolis." The effect of this will be seen and felt for many years in the street architecture of London. We should be happy, were we able to indulge the hope, that the example of a beautiful villa, erected in Brookline, during the past year, would exert an equally favorable influence upon the neglected

domestic architecture of our own country. But the Grecian temple presses too heavily on the imagination of our professional men, to be thrown off so easily.

The Grecian temple consists of a colonnade, or exterior row of pillars surrounding the whole edifice, and on which the roof mainly depends for support. The *cell*, or enclosed portion of the building, is formed by a plain wall behind, into which no windows should open, and which was never designed either for habitation, for converse, or for congregational worship. It was entirely an inferior consideration among the Greeks, who lived, acted, and worshipped in the open air, and under the broader canopy of their cloudless sky. But with us, how different a manner of construction is pointed out by the plain necessity of the case. We require, for the greater part of the time, to be within our edifices, and not on the outside of them. We find it convenient to have our roof rest on the walls, instead of placing a superfluous row of piers beyond; and in those walls, we must have apertures to provide us with air, light, and entrance. Construct these apertures, remove the colonnade, and place the *cornicione* upon the wall itself, and we then have the groundwork of an Italian building, which, in all its parts, is strictly conformable to the demands of common sense, and is susceptible of being so elaborated as to satisfy the highest idea of beauty.

The employment of the Grecian style obliges us, also, to banish the very idea of spires and steeples. These characteristic appendages are certainly, in themselves, very ornamental, while pointing silently to heaven, they form the outward and striking evidences of the Christianity of a people. But if the present state of things continue, they must be tacitly surrendered, and the oblong, four-sided, prostyle temple become the stereotyped pattern of design. This is plainly the deplorable crisis to which we seem to be approaching, and against which we would lift up a voice of earnest remonstrance. Perhaps, however, when the flood is at its height, it will turn of its own accord. We should not be greatly surprised at a sudden reaction. "Human nature," said Martin Luther, "is like a drunken trooper on horseback, for if you set it up on one side, down it falls on the other"; and we are already encouraged, by certain ominous symptoms, to think it possible, that even the heaviness of

our Hellenic stone-masons may, at some time or other, encounter a serious obstacle to its complacent equipoise.

We are not, however, without some *ante-Revolutionary* edifices in Boston, which do honor to the talent of their architects, and to the liberal taste of those who employed them. It is, indeed, a sad truth, that if we look about us for any thing correct or pleasing, we do not find it so much in the works of our own time, as in those which were executed sixty or eighty years ago. One of these, the old King's Chapel in Tremont street, has often been made the subject of judicious admiration. If the exterior be bare of ornament, at any rate, it makes no pretension to any other character ; it is a plain, solid, well jointed piece of masonwork, which is respectable for its sober unity of expression, and venerable, at least in our young country, from the weather stains which have gathered upon it for nearly a hundred years. In its exterior form and character, it is almost exactly like the London churches erected at the same period, — such a one as Hawksmoor, Gibbs, or Kent would have been very likely to design. Its plan is that of a simple oblong building, with a semi-elliptical recess for the chancel, at the eastern end, and having a heavy, square tower, at the opposite front. The tower is surrounded on three sides with a plain portico, which we wish had been omitted. The order displayed in it is the Roman Ionic, and the details are executed in a correct and pleasing manner. The windows in the lower row are small, and nearly square, covered with a low, flat arch, and deeply recessed in the wall. In the next, or gallery story, they are still of the same width, but nearly twice as high, and finished with semi-circular arches, the substantial solidity of which would be aped in vain by the bricks, and cements, and compositions of our gaudy contemporaries. A bold, projecting cornice crowns the whole, relieved with modillions on its lower surface, but appearing perfectly in keeping with the main idea. There is nothing particularly handsome in all this, but it is the *sentiment* shown in it which we so much admire, — an utter absence of claptrap and pretension, — a stern disclaimer of wishing to appear any thing more than it really is, — a plain rejection of extraneous and adscititious fictions. We defy any man of true taste to look at it in this light, for a moment, and then wish to see it stuck over with dapper shreds and patches of

Grecian ornament. But though the exterior is so designedly unpretending, the architect has bestowed a much higher, yet equally consistent, degree of finish upon the interior. The nave, or body, of the church is separated from the aisles by very elegant Corinthian columns, standing in couples, and raised upon bases a little above the height of the pews. We very willingly confess, that we do not admire the manner in which the entablature of these columns is cut up to receive the arches of the ceiling. It is a serious blemish, arising from the construction of the roof, and seems to be imitated from what has always been considered a fault in the celebrated church of *St. Martin in the Fields.* The necessity of a similar arrangement was very ingeniously avoided by Wren, in his beautiful church of *St. James, Westminster*, the roof of which is a fine specimen of economic carpentry, and should have been more familiar to the architect of our *chapel.* But the effect of this interior is so solemn and imposing, that we would willingly forget this slight license. There is no other church in Boston, where "the dim, religious light," so conducive to a devotional frame of mind, is admitted with such judicious and sparing economy, — the decent pulpit, desk, and clerk's desk standing apart from the chancel, — the antique altar-piece, with the Prayer, the Belief, and the "good commandments ten," — the marble monuments that occupy the centre of the wide piers, and the deep, quiet organ-loft at the western end, at once bespeak the distinctive character of a church, and make us sensible that "we cannot desecrate it, even in thought." It has the air, neither of a disguised ball-room, nor a travestied theatre; herein lies its great contrast to the churches of our own time; and it will not be thought a hasty or unadvised assertion, when we say, that there are few of these, that do not strongly resemble either the one or the other.

There is another interior, belonging to the same style and period, which deserves a high degree of admiration. It will scarcely be conceived, that the dingy and ill-shaped pile of brick, on the east side of Brattle square, conceals one of the most highly finished, elegant, and solemn interiors in the country. Perhaps the inferiority of the situation was the reason for so entirely neglecting its external appearance, which certainly gives promise of any thing else than the remarkable view obtained on entering, and disposes the unini-

tiated visiter to expect so little, that he can scarcely fail of experiencing the most agreeable disappointment. The exterior of this old church is of brick, painted a dull lead color, except the rusticated quoins, and key-stones, which are of dark brown freestone. The tower is low and square, rising only one story above the roof of the building, and having a circular-headed opening in each of its sides, to form a belfry for a bell of great size and very powerful tone. But if the exterior be so grim and forbidding as to repel examination, the charming interior, on the contrary, will amply repay it. It is divided transversely, by a row of four Corinthian columns, into a centre and two side aisles ; the columns are deeply fluted, and adorned with the highest degree of embellishment belonging to the Roman form of this rich order. The ornate variety of the style of art which prevailed in ancient Rome at the time of the erection of that magnificent structure, the temple of Jupiter Stator, and which was closely followed in the works of the English architects at the beginning of the last century, seems to us to be much better suited to the purposes of modern interiors, than the exact and rigid proportions of those more precise examples which the present fashion almost exclusively copies. At all events, it has been fully adopted, with a very fortunate effect, in the interior under consideration. In many of its features, it reminds us strongly of the parish church of *St. Mary, Woolnoth*, in London, — an edifice described by Mr. Gwilt, as full of "such exquisite beauties, that it is irksome to dwell on its few and trifling faults." We wish that we had access to any measurements of its dimensions, in order to ascertain how far the architect has deviated from the sesquilateral proportion so carefully adhered to by Wren, and which produces the harmony and enchanting effect so frequently observed in the interiors of that great master. It appears, however, so far as it can be judged by the eye alone, to be designed, though not after Wren's rule, yet with a great degree of uniformity and attention to geometrical arrangement. It should not remain unvisited by any one who has a mind to see how architecture was practised in Boston at a time when the wealth of the city was not great, and, as might be supposed, its actual means of refinement were in a far less advanced state than at present. It would certainly be

more gratifying to us, could we honestly give our opinion, that art had been a decided gainer by the change.

The little episcopal church at Cambridge was erected not far from the same period, being finished in the year 1760. It is, or rather *was*, for the interior went through the ordeal of *church-wardenizing* not long ago, a model of beauty and propriety in all its parts. No one can fail to observe the happy effect of its exterior proportions, and the dignity it acquires from the deep cornice with which it is finished. On each side elevation are five long, circular-headed windows, surrounded with a bold moulding, ending in a return, and imparting a great degree of relief to the apertures which it decorates. The tower is singularly modest and charming, with not one half the show, but infinitely more than the merit, of its opposite neighbour. The effect of the interior, though somewhat injured by alterations, is yet very pleasing. There is no doubt, that the architect intended to have made the entablature continuous, instead of carrying it up in a square mass over every single column ; but a want of the necessary funds is said to have prevented its completion. The organ gallery, and the three doors under it, are designed in fine taste ; the order throughout the whole interior being the bold and graceful Roman Ionic, with its angular volutes and delicately finished modillions. The aspect of the church is much impaired by the situation of the painted altar-piece, which was brought from the old Trinity church in Boston, when that building was taken down, and has been stuck up in its present situation, at the wrong end of the church, without any regard to propriety or effect. The arrangement of the pulpit, desk, and pews was formerly much more in keeping than at present, the pulpit standing forward into the nave, as at the King's Chapel ; but it is now very improperly removed back, so as only to be reached by an inconvenient circuit inside the altar railing.

It is a pity, that any circumstances should intervene, to impair the pleasing impression which the architecture of this beautiful little church is calculated to convey. But pleasing as it is, it is quite evident, that the example set forth in its design has been almost without any effect upon the public taste. It appears to have been imitated only in a single instance, — a church in the same town, which stands a little

to the left, as we enter by the high road from Boston. But the alterations made in the copy cannot be viewed as improvements upon the original. The elegant simplicity of the one becomes only baldness in the other, which, however, is certainly a much prettier church than many others we could mention in its vicinity. It is strange, that the purity and harmony of character observable in the older church should generally have been so feebly appreciated, and, in this case, so poorly copied. But where we find one architect who is willing to acknowledge its merit, there are many who would not rest satisfied, till it had been *improved* out of all its real beauties. Few can hope to equal the elegance of this example, and, look about us where we will, we do not find that any one has, as yet, been able to surpass it. Their works want that piquant but proper originality, which this design exhibits.

"The architect," observes Mr. Loudon, "to whom architecture is not an art of imagination as well as an art of reason, can never, by any possibility, rise above the rank of an imitative builder. He may rear edifices of great strength, solidity, and durability, very fitly arranged for the purposes for which they are built, and very correct in their architectural details; but he will never be able to produce a structure in which novelty and originality are combined with the other requisites of excellence; or, when placed in a situation where rules no longer apply, to rise superior to obstacles which would be reckoned insurmountable by ordinary minds, and thus out of difficulties to start beauties. This can be done alone by the architect of imagination, and it is only such an architect that is entitled to be considered as an artist possessing the powers of invention, or genius."

We cannot but repeat here the wish expressed on a former occasion, that the faultless proportions of the Cambridge church may yet be imitated and preserved in stone. We often tremble for the safety of so beautiful a model, exposed to all the accidents of decay and of fire, to which a wooden building is always liable.

Coming down to a somewhat later period, we find in this vicinity several steeples and spires, which we cannot allow to pass without some degree of commendation. First among these, for elegance of contour and pleasing disposition of its parts, we are inclined to place the steeple of the octagonal church in Summer street. Upon the body of the church

itself, we should only waste time in bestowing any criticism at all. But above the portico, we conceive the steeple to possess a great share of merit. The manner in which it diminishes in the various stories, and changes from a square to a circular, and then to an octagonal, plan, is certainly very agreeable to the eye. Upon a broad square stylobate, next above the roof, it rises in three separate divisions, adorned with columns at the breaks, and containing arched windows in the principal sides. These stories, and the elevated bases on which they rest, are very symmetrically proportioned to each other, and all the main points of which they are composed are kept strictly within the line of an imaginary pyramid; while the angles are occupied with ornamental vases, of pleasing figure, which have been judiciously introduced, to fill up the outline of the corners, and conduce to the regularity of its conical form. To the strict observance of this valuable idea, the architect is mainly indebted for his success. Notwithstanding occasional improprieties of detail, (such as the introduction of balusters, where sunken panels would have been more appropriate,) yet, considering it as a mass, and with regard to its graceful and airy effect, we cannot hesitate to assign a higher rank to it than to any specimen of the kind which we are now so fortunate as to possess. To combine lightness and harmony in such a work must always be a difficult task. The lofty magnificence and the exuberant fancy of the pointed style are denied to a structure, that is to be made up only of distinct and different portions of architectural detail. The classic orders abound in horizontal lines and shadows, and naturally form themselves into a very different species of combinations. In fact, they have no affinity whatever to steeple-like erections, and the architect who thus employs them will vainly endeavour to rival the beauty of that style, to which these striking appendages more properly belong.

The steeple of the church in Hollis street, though it has some good points, is yet very faulty from the fact that it diminishes in a broken and irregular manner. The columns of the upper story, which is next below the springing of the spire, have, at a little distance, the effect of a temporary staging placed round the body of the steeple. The pyramidal outline has not been attended to at all, and the natural consequence is, an utter want of lightness and of continuity

of effect. Its elevation from the ground is very considerable, and it forms quite a conspicuous object in all the distant views of the city. The spire in Park street is also very lofty and imposing, and is said to have been mainly copied from one of Gibbs's published designs. The *mannerisms* observable in its construction seem to give some support to the suggestion. As a whole, it makes quite a showy figure, and forms an agreeable architectural object in a general view of the Common ; but its different portions will not well bear the test of a closer inspection. The steeples of St. Paul's and St. John's churches, in New York, are also not unfavorable examples of this kind of structure. They are attached to buildings which display a Roman order, and are not much inferior in design to those of the same style to be met with abroad. They were erected forty or fifty years ago. But nearly all our recent churches, being designed after Grecian models, are destitute of steeples, which, as we have before remarked, are so much at variance with that manner of building, that it would be the height of impropriety to introduce them.

Having thus considered the relative merits of those edifices in our neighbourhood, which are imitated from the antique specimens of Greece and Rome, it will perhaps be expected, that we next pass to an examination of the Gothic structures that have been erected in the United States within the last few years. In these, we rejoice to perceive an increased knowledge, and a growing taste. There are few things in architecture, that could hold out less promise of excellence, than the old Trinity church and the Masonic Hall, in New-York, and the Temple and the Federal street church, in Boston. But since the erection of these, it is evident, that a rapid advance has been made in an acquaintance with the true principles of the Gothic style. We are satisfied of this, when we see such edifices as Christ church, Brooklyn, and the new Trinity church in New York, rising, in almost mediæval grandeur, upon our western shores. It is truly gratifying to perceive such substantial evidences of the wealth, the taste, and the piety of a people. We trust that, before many years have elapsed, we shall see among us more churches like these, which are, indeed, truly worthy of the name.

We gladly take the present opportunity to confess, as we

have done on a previous occasion, the strongest predilection for this glorious style. It is consecrated by the most intimate connexion with the origin and progress of our faith. By those who have made themselves most thoroughly acquainted with its principles, it is even denominated the *Christian* style, in contradistinction to all the others, which had their origin in the darkness of remote and heathen antiquity. In their form, their construction, and their detail, its edifices are strikingly emblematical of the doctrines of Christianity. It is impossible, then, that they should not, by the force of association, exert a very powerful influence over the mind which is disposed to be assisted by them. It is observed by Mr. Dowson, in his elegant "Essay on the Metaphysics of Architecture," that "the scenes around us become, as it were, the pedestals, upon which our souls naturally exalt themselves to take a view of the things beyond." This kind of association can nowhere be more necessary than in a house of worship. From music, poetry, painting, or sculpture, we can easily escape, if they cause impressions which are inharmonious or unpleasing; but it is impossible to avoid the impressions received from sacred architecture, unless we also banish ourselves from the ordinances of divine service, and habitually turn away our feet from the appointed exercises of religious worship. Every thing, therefore, which can contribute toward detaching the affections from the common and ordinary affairs of life, should be brought before the eye in a religious edifice; and it must be admitted that the solemn Gothic is admirably adapted for this purpose. There are few, indeed, who can withstand its impressive influence, or fail to be affected with the serious emotions it at once excites in the mind. For ourselves, we cannot desire that kind of satisfaction, which some have endeavoured to derive from a denial of these truths. "Far from me and my friends," said the wise and pious Dr. Johnson, "be such frigid philosophy! That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

In looking back over the history of Christianity, the events which mark its progress, and the great principles which it has continually kept alive, seem to us to be indelibly associated with the solemn edifices in which, from time to time, they have been either acted, or proclaimed. So long as these

invaluable monuments remain, they must always be viewed with the highest interest, and approached only with a feeling of reverent admiration. Mr. Pugin has very ingeniously endeavoured to show, that it is in them alone, that the great *æsthetical* principles of building have been fully carried out. Without venturing to question the correctness of this position, or to examine the numerous reasons which he has adduced in its support, we may remark, that many of the imitators in ecclesiastical architecture have certainly proceeded upon very erroneous principles in the formation of their designs. It is little to be wondered at, that many of our Gothic churches and other edifices are so unsatisfactory, when we observe, how different their designs are from those of the Gothic architects themselves, whose works are proposed as models for imitation. The fact, that at least six different stages or styles are clearly recognized in pointed architecture, — each one distinguished from the rest by peculiarities that are not to be mistaken, — has very often been lost sight of by our builders; while the adoption of any species of pointed arched windows, with rude imitations of embattled parapets, and sometimes a few buttress-like projections from the walls, has been dignified among us with the honorable title of a Gothic design. It is true, that a better and more rational manner is now beginning to prevail, as the copious and elegant illustrations of its finest examples are more closely studied. But such solecisms as are observable in some of our earlier works of the kind would not have been committed by persons acquainted even with the leading principles of the pointed style, since the marked changes which it successively underwent can be easily understood by a reference to the history of the circumstances which occasioned them. There is no doubt, that the successive steps in this gradual transition are very clearly defined.

A few churches had been constructed during the early period in which the Romans still retained possession of Britain. The progress of Christianity upon that uncivilized soil was slow and difficult, and its struggles under the Dioclesian persecution, and under the wild irruption of the Northern barbarians, produced a perceptible effect upon the sacred architecture of the fourth and fifth centuries. In the rude strife and turmoil of those primitive times, when the Roman legions had been recalled by the tottering state from the charge of con-

quests which she was no longer able to maintain, and civil disorder on all sides was at its height, the shrines of the new religion were almost entirely demolished, and their worshippers, as a body, scattered and lost in the paganism which rose upon their ruins. But when, at the end of the sixth century, the zeal of Augustine and Mellitus had rekindled the extinguished flame, and Christianity was again preached and propagated among the people, the new converts were assisted, in erecting their churches, by architects and workmen from the Papal city. Many of the Roman temples, and of the basilicas, or halls of justice, which still remained in existence, though in a neglected and dismantled condition, were repaired and consecrated to the services of the church. It is confidently believed, that the internal arrangement of these edifices was still retained, and first gave a form to the interior of all the religious structures which succeeded them. We find, that they were divided, by rows of columns, into three longitudinal spaces, like the nave and aisles of a church, and that the *apsis*, or semi-circular east end, still observable in some of the venerable Norman churches, had its distinct prototype in the recessed seats of the civil tribunal. The round arches, which, in the debased Roman buildings, sprung immediately from the imposts of the low and massive columns, and by their inelegance marked the decline of the last stage of Roman art, were copied with little alteration into these rude ecclesiastical structures, while the whole style of detail was left almost entirely devoid of ornamental finish. But in the subsequent invasions of the fierce Danes, it was their fate to meet with another almost general destruction, so that the number of churches, which can with any certainty be referred to the period of the Heptarchy, is, in fact, very small. Before the subject of ecclesiastical antiquities, however, had become of such general interest as at present, and when such an accurate knowledge of its history and principles as we now possess had not been acquired, nor even sought for, a very confused notion of its early state had arisen, from the indiscriminate application of the term "Saxon" to almost every edifice, in which the form of the pointed arch was not distinctly exhibited. This erroneous idea is still very frequently entertained; but the truth is, that the remains of Saxon architecture are now so inconsiderable, that its peculiarities could scarcely be illustrated by a reference to the

whole of them. The masonry is stated to be chiefly composed of rubble, with squared blocks of stone at the angles, and to have differed little in appearance from the latest specimens of the debased Roman manner of building.

But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the doctrines of Christianity had obtained a firmer foothold, and the edifices in which its worship was conducted had become the objects of general veneration and respect. Many more churches were erected, which, in size and style, far excelled the rude structures of the preceding age. Of these Norman buildings, there are many still remaining, in a state of excellent preservation. Parts of the older cathedrals are referable to this period, and the thick walls, massive piers, and heavy, semicircular arches of Winchester, Rochester, Norwich, and Durham, still seem likely to retain their stable solidity to the end of time. In their external appearance, the structures of this period are rather uniform and monotonous, and, though in the larger examples, different tiers or stories of arches were generally introduced, the buildings in which they appear are entirely devoid of any lightness or elegance of design. The few buttresses which project from the walls are plain and shallow, and seem, as observed by Mr. Bloxam, "intended rather to relieve the plain external surface of the wall than to strengthen it." But between the earlier and later examples, it must be allowed that a marked difference is observable,—and the introduction of clustered columns, larger windows, and a profusion of enriched mouldings, appears to have gradually led the way to that lightness and elegance, which at once resulted from the discovery of the pointed arch. At the commencement of the thirteenth century, it had come into almost universal use, and the whole character of the style submitted to a consequent change.

The style of the thirteenth century is that which appears best fitted for our imitation. In its general character, it is light and simple; and though all superfluous ornament is carefully avoided, it may be observed, that in no style is a proper management of the details more indispensable than in this. When judiciously applied, and properly executed, they constitute one of its chief beauties. But as experience has abundantly proved, it is quite possible so to vulgarize their forms, and mistake their application, as to render them offensive excrescences, rather than ornamental enrichments.

Every effort should, therefore, be made, whenever this style is adopted, to preserve a harmonious consistency throughout. The roof should rise with an acute pitch, scarcely less than forty-five degrees, and all the dressings of the windows and doors, the pinnacles, buttresses, string-courses, and water tables, should be selected with the greatest care from the best examples *of the period*. If these be neglected, as they often have been, the experienced eye will be dissatisfied, and the well-meaning architect will suffer rather than profit by a critical investigation.

So little, however, has this unity of style been attended to in this country, that every liberal lover of the arts cannot but perceive, that a very loose idea, as well of plan as of decoration, has been encouraged in some of those meagre and miserable Gothic edifices, which, it is to be hoped, have already had their day. We have seen, for instance, the low, flat ceilings, the four centred arches, and the lighter shrine-work of the Tudor period, brought by our builders into the same design with the square piers, lancet windows, and peculiarly distinctive mouldings of the early English and the Decorated styles, — absurdities which are a source of great annoyance to every person of sound judgment and cultivated taste. For the first idea to be learned from the books is this, — that an incongruous intermingling of the manner of one century with that of another, is a total violation of architectural propriety, contrary to all the real principles of design, and, in the view of all who have studied the subject, totally destructive to the general effect. These

"jarring seeds of ill-concerted things"

are peculiarly obnoxious in an early English building, the effect of which results much more from its form and outline, than from the introduction of any adventitious details.

The east end of Ely cathedral, the fine minster at Southwell, the Temple church in London, and parts of Westminster abbey, of Salisbury, Wells, and Lincoln cathedrals, exhibit fine examples of this style. There are, also, many collegiate and parish churches, which are the work of the same period ; and an abundant series of studies will be found in Pugin's "Specimens," in Mr. Britton's "Cathedrals," and in the "Chronological Dictionary," by the same author.

Whenever stained glass can be introduced in the windows

of a Gothic edifice, it imparts an air of splendid solemnity, which can be attained in no other way. Human invention could not add another feature so imposing as this to the dignity of the sacred structure, and few of the finer examples among the ancient buildings were wanting in all the attractions which it could be made to produce.

> "Color and form alike their powers engage
> In trophies of the proud baronial age;
> Azure and crimson, green and gold unite;
> Friezes and chapiters, in glory dight,
> Blaze with imposing splendor o'er the sight.
> Enamelled flowers their graceful foliage twine,
> And pictured mouldings thread the golden vine;
> Fair in their form, and glorious in their hue,
> They blend harmonious, and the mind subdue." — *Edmeston.*

The Decorated style commenced about the beginning, and continued nearly to the close, of the next century. It chiefly flourished during the reigns of Edward the Second and Edward the Third, "in the latter of which," says Mr. Bloxam, "it attained a degree of perfection unequalled by preceding or subsequent ages." There is a greater redundancy of chaste ornament in this than any other style, and it has, with great propriety, been generally considered by the critics as the most beautiful style of English architecture, not exhibiting the daring flights of constructive talent so much as the next period, but certainly reaching the *acme* of beauty in design. Some of the essays of our own builders in the Gothic style have been made in professed imitation of this period, not unmixed, however, with a bad attempt at the features of all the rest. We fear that the antiquaries of a future age will be sadly confused in referring these buildings to their proper date, by a comparison of the distinctive points which they exhibit. In this way, indeed, the date of the structures of antiquity is determined, but it will scarcely hold good when we come to the consideration of our own.

The Masonic temple, which was the first Gothic structure of any pretension in Boston, has before been noticed at such length in this Journal,* that it is unnecessary to do more than allude to it at present. We are glad, however, to be thus relieved from going into a full analysis of its claims, which, we are assured, would be no very pleasing

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII., p. 364.

task to our readers or ourselves. Not much more favorable is our idea of the new Library at Cambridge. It is another unfortunate instance of unsupported pretension. The longer arm of the cross, did it stand alone, would be too low, flat, and heavy to produce any agreeable or consistent impression. But in addition to this, the architect has very injudiciously added transepts, extending laterally to such a distance as to aggravate this defect, and effectually to destroy the vertical proportions of the edifice. There is nothing light or spiry in the whole composition, and when we recollect that it has been extolled as "presenting a favorable specimen of the ecclesiastical style of the fourteenth century," we shall consider this defect as a very serious objection to the validity of so high a claim. The material of which it is built is scarcely suited to this style. It is of so hard and unyielding a texture, that it is worked with great difficulty, and could not be brought into the pliant forms of decorative detail, unless at a very great expense. Nor do we believe that, when thus elaborated, it would produce the intended result. The mouldings of this period are undercut, and present that infinite variety of light and shade, which can only arise from the aërial tints being most carefully studied. But the more this material is hammered and brought to a smooth surface, the stiffer becomes its effect; because the parts cut are rendered lighter, instead of darker, than the natural surface, as split from the quarry, and the intended effect of relief and shadow is thus counteracted and lost. The chocolate colored freestone of Connecticut and New Jersey is a far better material, being much softer and darker than granite; and it is with great pleasure that we have learned, that it is intended to make use of this stone in the construction of a new church in Hanover street. If a chapel is to be erected at Mount Auburn, it should be of this material, and no other. We shall then have an opportunity to compare the glaring uniformity of the one with the shadowy repose of the other; and when these different results are fairly brought into contrast, we have some room to hope for the future adoption of the better and cheaper material. The monastic architects were too wise to waste their time and labor upon an unsuitable stone, and, dissatisfied in many instances with that which England afforded, they crossed the British Channel, and brought the rich Caen stone from the shores of Normandy to

their workmen at Canterbury and Westminster. Communication among us is now so rapid, cheap, and easy, that little excuse should be conceded to our architects for an oversight in this important particular.

The details of this building, so far as it has any, are decidedly unpleasing. The ends of the transepts, in particular, are very offensive, being made up of slight buttresses and large trefoil windows, thrown together *en applique*, effectually disturbing the uniformity of the longitudinal perspective, and causing a want of harmony, rather than an effect of variety and proper distribution. We have repeatedly looked at it in vain, to discover any beauty in its whole conception. The architect has evidently been playing with an edge tool, that has sadly wounded his inexperienced fingers. We believe we are correct in saying, that the general opinion respecting his performance, among persons of taste, is far from being favorable.

Worse and worse, for the credit of Boston, is the nondescript pile of stone in Bowdoin square. It occupies a fine situation, which ought to have been well improved. But we cannot so far rely upon our powers of moderation as to proceed with a specific *critique*. We only think with Candidus, in his note-book, that "it is the consummation of all that is beggarly and miserable, and I think, that, if the architect had any spirit, he would have hanged himself as soon as it was completed." How is it possible, that such a structure as this can be planned and erected by a professional man, at a time when our public and private libraries contain so many lucid works on the subject of the Gothic style? It must be, that the more opportunity such a person possesses, the less he troubles himself to comprehend. Dr. Southey speaks of an admirable print among George Withers's emblems, having for its motto, "*Cæcus nil luce juvatur.*" It represents an owl, standing in broad sunshine, with a pair of spectacles on his beak, a lighted candle on each side of him, and a blazing torch in each claw; and the more light there is, the less is the owl able to see. No happier emblem, we think, could be imagined to typify that school of builders, who rear such enduring evidences of their powers of observation. The spirit of the pointed style requires the intensest study, and can never be acquired without a great degree of *con amore* application. A great Gothic building is a glorious

epic, and he who cannot see poetry in the aisles of York minster would be sorely puzzled to find any in "Paradise Lost"; but it requires, in either case, some degree of taste to appreciate these beauties, and some study to understand them. Tried by this balance, how many of our builders will be found wanting?

Trinity church, in Boston, is the largest Gothic structure in the city, and where all are so bad, this, in some respects, must be allowed to be the best. "In this world," says Sir William Temple, "whatever is called good, is so comparatively with other things of this kind." We are surprised, whenever we enter it, that the interior should be so imposing as it is, and that it produces something akin to a very good effect, while nearly all the details are so objectionable. The piers are too slight, the galleries too heavy, the chancel too small, the nave too wide, and the roof too low. The tone of color, however, is well chosen, and, were less light admitted, would be still more effective. But the organ and organ-loft are perfectly exquisite; they were designed, and the former executed, in England, and were placed in their present position about six years ago. We do not believe there is, at present, another so fine a piece of Gothic panelling and tracery in America. A very great improvement has recently been effected in this church, by dismissing the pulpit and desk from the chancel, where they should never have been placed, and erecting others of a more appropriate form in the space in front of the altar railing. The chancel has also been enriched with additional decoration, and a fine mural tablet in *alto-relievo*, to the memory of the late Bishop Griswold, is now in the hands of the able sculptor, Mr. Brackett, intended to be placed between the two large windows at the east corner of the southern aisle. Whatever this interior now possesses of pleasing effect has been acquired since the time when some allusion was made to it in this Journal, and is entirely due to subsequent alterations and decorations. These have been so thoroughly carried out, that the church presents a very different, and certainly a much improved, appearance. But there is still a great *weakness* throughout the whole, arising from defects which are inherent in the construction of the building, and can never be got rid of in any other way than by a total renovation of the whole design.

The inertness and inanity of this building very well illustrate a point upon which we had determined to speak. They afford a fair example of the mischief which is done by interfering with the completeness of an architect's intentions, and pruning away, as useless expenditures, all the vitals of his design. Many fine and sensible conceptions have thus been ruined in the outset. Had intermeddling committeemen kept their hands off from what they were fitted, neither by nature nor by education, to comprehend, far less to control, — so many of our most expensive public buildings would not be disfigured by the crudities which they now present. The faults which strike us so disagreeably in this edifice are, to our knowledge, by no means attributable to the architect; they were forced upon him by "the Committee," that inexorable tribunal of taste, from whose authoritative decision there is no hope of appeal. The low, deformed story which terminates the tower, with its enlarged *quatrefoil* openings, and its flimsy battlement, it can well be imagined, formed no part of the original design. The same is true of the weak clusters of columns that support the galleries, and of the anomalous ceiling, that, were it really of stone, as it now assumes to be, would either depend for support upon some secret principles of construction as yet unknown to geometrical science, or else adopt the only disagreeable alternative allowed to it by the laws of gravitation, and perhaps immure a devout, attentive, and unsuspicious congregation under its rubbish. Upon any recognized principles of the arch, it would not stand for an instant. So long, however, as it was evidently lath and plaster, and therefore easily known to be supported from the roof behind, it did not appear dangerous, or perhaps we should say, *impossible*. But now that the skill of the decorative artist has been called in, to give to it the semblance of a stone vaulting, and the deceptive appearance of the different courses is so well carried out as, in many instances, to impose upon the eye, it becomes evident, at the same time, to the most careless spectator, that a vault, so constructed, could be kept in its place by nothing short of a direct miracle.

> "More might be said of this to give a proof,
> But more to say were more than is enough."

The design of an architect should be strictly consistent

and uniform in all its parts. How often this standard of excellence is really arrived at, even in the portfolio, it would perhaps be difficult to ascertain ; but it is certainly incumbent upon those who have the ostensible direction of his movements, if they cannot assist him, at least to refrain from tying his hands. If, indeed, it be right

> "to compare
> Small things with greatest,"

we shall do them a service by repeating Dr. South's pithy observation, that "the knowledge of what ought and what ought not to be done, is a thing too large to be compassed, and too hard to be mastered, without brains and study, parts and contemplation." It is not to be supposed, that they are fit to take the direction of that which they have never studied, or of which they have, at best, but a very imperfect idea. General instructions, therefore, in the outset, are all that should ever be issued. A statement of the intended form and extent of the edifice, of the style to be employed, and of the limit of expense, are instructions enough ; the architect then goes properly and safely to work, and can easily bring his project within the limit which is prescribed. But when his drawings are completed, he should never submit to have them pared down or altered by an ambitious, a whimsical, or a penurious committee of taste. We have known an instance, where, after a Grecian design had been procured from an architect of acknowledged respectability, one of the committee-men peremptorily insisted on the introduction of *pointed windows*, giving it to be understood, that he had quite made up his mind to that item, at least, and that he had come into the commission with a full determination to use his whole influence in favor of what he esteemed the handsomest form a window could be made to assume. The entablature of the Ionic portico was accordingly divided, over the central intercolumn, the pillars were set back, and engaged in the wall, and a huge, equilateral arched window filled up the whole centre of the front, rose through the gap in the horizontal entablature, and finished in a point under the apex of the pediment above it. The church where this was done is now to be seen within twenty miles of Boston.

These are only a few of the absurdities which are introduced by ignorance in authority. The architect who has a real interest in his profession, and who does not follow it

only for the income it affords, should prepare himself to encounter these difficulties, and endeavour, by persuasion and argument, to remove them. It is only by taking this high stand, that he can aid in establishing the dignity of the body to which he belongs. If he fail of success in his attempts to convince, and finds that he is to be overruled in essential points, we are clearly of opinion, that he is bound in honor and conscience to withdraw. And though these obstacles must always continue, in some degree, to occur, —

"They might be met with ease, by a determination on the part of professional men to give no assistance whatever, beyond the mere superintendence of construction, unless they be permitted to take the whole design into their own hands, merely receiving broad instructions respecting the style, (and not attending to them unless they like.) They should not make out the smallest detail, unless they were answerable for the whole. In this case, gentlemen architects would be thrown so utterly on their own resources, that, unless those resources were adequate, they would be obliged to surrender the task into more practised hands; and, if they were adequate, if the amateur had paid so much attention to the art as to be capable of giving the design perfectly, it is probable he would not erect any thing strikingly abominable." — *Architect. Mag.*, Vol. IV.

While, then, we are aware that this state of things actually exists, and have thus allowed our acquaintance with the facts, it will perhaps be deemed partial and unfair in us to lay the faults of our architecture, in the first instance, upon its professors. Did we form our judgment from the appearance of executed buildings alone, there would be a strong color of truth in the objection. Swift somewhere intimates, that "what a man is forced to, is no diminution of his wisdom." But if we look for a moment at the published designs of architects, — where no such control as that of which we have spoken has ever existed, or could exist, — the result will not be very different from that at which we have already arrived.

It is understood, that Mr. Shaw, the author of the book which stands at the head of this article, has written and published several works upon subjects connected with the profession of architecture. We have no doubt, that he can draw the contract and indite the specifications for carpenters' and masons' operations, as well as any of his professional

compeers. But it should be recollected, that this is but a very small part of the various learning which an architect is expected, and bound, to possess. We do not see, in the work before us, any evidence of much greater ability. The author appears to be one of those old fashioned five-order men, who have grown antic in the decline of their favorite system, and have endeavoured, by a vigorous push, to accommodate themselves to the surprising achievements of their later and more successful rivals. But the principle remains the same, though its manifestation is somewhat changed; and it is not hard to perceive, that he has merely discarded Vitruvius for Benjamin, and Sir William Chambers' "Treatise" for "The Builder's Guide." We are accordingly presented with *Doric cottages* and Ionic and Corinthian dwelling-houses in plenty; the Grecian detail is faultlessly exact, and, no doubt, minutely transcribed from Stuart; but it is only the skin of the lion on the body of the ass. The parts are grouped into grotesque and heterogeneous forms, and fitted together as a child fits the pieces of a wooden puzzle. The combinations presented are senseless, inanimate, and rigid, — mere unmeaning form, without one particle of life-giving spirit; and the highest praise that can be given them is, that they are purely Grecian, as that term is now understood. They are likely to satisfy the highest aspirations of all admirers of "classic dwellings," and to their patronage we specially recommend them. They exhibit a fair example of the happy effect produced by treating an Athenian temple as a dwelling-house for an American family; and we would refer to plates 9 and 10, in particular, exhibiting a Doric temple with an attic story, as the very *beau-ideal* of this species of combination. For originality in the invention of ugliness, it may safely stand without a parallel.

Of Gothic architecture, of the power and greatness of talent displayed in the ecclesiastical structures of the Old World, of the noble conceptions of beauty in their design, and of the almost incredible mechanical skill evinced in their construction, Mr. Shaw has, evidently, about as adequate an idea as any quadruped whose name could be selected from the extensive nomenclature of modern zoölogy. If any thing can go beyond his "Gothic churches," let it be produced, and we will hold our breath while we look on. We cannot

look at the odd havoc and intermixture they exhibit, without exclaiming with the waggish Petruchio,

> "What! up and down, carv'd like an apple tart?
> Here's snip, and nip, and cut, and slish, and slash,
> Like to a censer in a barber's shop:
> Why! what, o' devil's name, tailor, call'st thou this?"

But here, there is perhaps less necessity for remark. The Doric cottages, the Corinthian villas, may be copied, and probably will be, for there is no doubt that they are sufficiently expensive and sufficiently absurd to be at once considered very tasteful; but it is scarcely possible, that any individual can be so misguided as to entertain any predilection for Mr. Shaw's Gothic. We leave the plates, therefore, to speak for themselves, (plates 51 and 52), merely remarking, however, upon the estimate given in the description which is appended to the latter, that "five hundred persons can be seated with comfort" in the building which it represents, — that such comfortable persons must have very little real perception of beauty in theory, and still less regard for it in practice. As a church for the *blind*, it would doubtless answer as well as any other.

Our limits prevent us from noticing two very excellent churches at Hartford as fully as their merit deserves. We must pass to a rapid notice of the magnificent church, now erecting in the city of New-York, with which we must close our already protracted article. Trinity church stands in Broadway, opposite the head of Wall street, on the site of the old building of that name, a flimsy edifice erected in 1788. The former church presented no great beauty of appearance, and, upon an examination with a view to extensive repairs, was found to be so much decayed, that it was at once decided to take it down, and erect a new structure more worthy of the increased wealth of the parish, and of the high position which it occupies, as the oldest Episcopal establishment in the commercial metropolis of America. A design having been prepared by the able architect, Mr. Upjohn, it was accepted by the vestry, and the works were soon commenced. The body of the church is now nearly completed. In size, in the delicacy and propriety of its decoration, and in the beauty of its general effect, we are inclined to think, that it surpasses any church erected in England since the revival of the pointed style. The new

church of St. Luke, Chelsea, from the designs of Mr. Savage, minutely illustrated in Mr. Britton's descriptions and plates, will bear no comparison with the catholic propriety and finished elegance of this American structure. Governed by simple and consistent principles, the architect has conceived and finished it in the true and delicate spirit of the chastest period. It rivals the accurate taste of the best works of the fourteenth century, and is carried out upon a scale which we had deemed it impossible to adopt, in a country where architecture is in so chaotic a state. With the single exception of the guild chapels and private chantries introduced by Mr. Pugin in his engraving of a perfect church, it very nearly resembles that enthusiastic ideal of an ecclesiastical edifice of the Middle Ages.

The extreme length of this superb structure is 192 feet. The tower and spire, which rise with an airy grandeur resembling that of the celebrated church of Louth in Lincolnshire, are terminated by a rich crosslet, at the height of 264 feet from the ground. The width of the nave, between the columns, is 37 feet, and the width of the church, in the clear, including the aisles, is 84 feet. There are nine equilateral arched windows on each side of the nave, corresponding in their position to the interior spaces between the piers. The *clerestory* is unusually lofty, and from its numerous openings will pour down a flood of checkered light upon the marble pavement below. The great window at the end of the chancel is the largest in the building, being 28 feet wide, and 44 feet high. It has fourteen principal compartments, which are to be filled with painted glass, representing the twelve apostles, with the Virgin and child. Under this window stands the altar; the pulpit is designed to be placed against one of the large columns, about half way down the nave. The organ is to be placed on a highly sculptured stone screen, over the entrance from the tower to the nave. The pews will be of black walnut, with characteristic panelling and *finials*, and are to occupy the nave only. The entire cost of the edifice will be over $ 500,000.

We are happy to perceive, by a print of this church recently published, that the spire has been more highly enriched than in the original design. Had it been erected in so plain a style as was at first proposed, it would have been a defect, which, in our eyes, would have ruined the whole building.

A light and highly decorated tower, surmounted by a plain, naked, and heavy spire, without any crocketting, foliated bands, or canopied windows in its sides, would have appeared so distressing a deformity, that we should infinitely have preferred, that the first stone of the structure had never been laid. If a diminution of expense were the object, it would be far better that the spire should remain unfinished ten, twenty, or even fifty years, rather than be completed in a slovenly and inappropriate manner.

In expressing the opinions which have now been given to our readers, a choice seemed to be presented us between the mere assertion of general principles, with observations upon their general manifestation, and an explicit statement of real and tangible facts, illustrated by direct references to well known examples. We have adopted the latter course, as being more pointed and forcible, and therefore more likely to create the intended impression. We think it a subject, not only of private interest, but of great public importance. We have not yet advanced to that length in architecture, that a treatise upon the *metaphysics* of the art is so much called for, as a little searching and vigorous criticism upon existing faults. But whenever we have found it possible to connect general principles with the illustration of our positions, it will be observed, that we have not scrupled to do so ; and if these should be found, in some degree, a repetition of the arguments of others, it will, at least, be recollected, that it is impossible to originate a new grammar of the arts, and that, upon this subject, we shall always prefer the merit of sound and acknowledged opinions, to the poor praise of originality. And if it should appear to some, that we have been harsh in our strictures upon the prevailing system of the day, we may hope for pardon from every one who wishes to see the character of our architecture elevated, and its professors raised from the level of mere mercenary draughtsmen, to be honored as members of an elegant and liberal profession, and taking their stand, side by side, with the highest artists of the country. So long, however, as the present system of building continues to be followed, there is little hope of so desirable a consummation. But when an architect shall arise, gifted with a real love for his art, and with a true perception of whatever in it is beautiful and noble, — who shall add to the advantages of thorough education the

sound and delicate sense of propriety that is only to be acquired from habits of careful observation, — with too much regard for the excellences of classic art to feel any wish to degrade them, and too just an appreciation of what is suited to the uses of his own time to leave it any longer in total neglect, — we may begin to cherish a hope for the revival of a true taste in the community, and may look forward with an increased confidence to a brighter period in the history of *American Architecture*.

Art. VII. — 1. *The Bondmaid*, by Fredrika Bremer. Translated from the Swedish, by M. L. Putnam. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 16mo. pp. 112.

2. *New Sketches of Every-day Life : A Diary ;* together with *Strife and Peace*. By Fredrika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1844. Price One Shilling.

3. *Strife and Peace, or Scenes in Norway*. By Fredrika Bremer. Translated from the Swedish. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1843.

Ever since, in our childhood, we caught some faint echoes of those wild sagas, which seemed to clang with the thunders of Thor's hammer, or of the scarcely less terrible swords of the Berserkirs ; since we heard in fancy the prows of the Vikings grating upon the strands of Western and Southern Europe, from Britain to Byzantium, or ploughing through the hitherto untracked waters of our own Massachusetts Bay to the forest-crowned shores of Vinland ; since our young hearts throbbed exultingly over the story of the exploits of the heroic and wise Gustavus Wasa ; since we hung with breathless delight over the narrative of the achievements of that Great Captain, " the lion of the North," made yet more dear to us as the companion in arms of the stalwart Dalgetty ; or followed with admiring interest the bloody footsteps of Charles the Twelfth, in whom the classic marauder and the Viking seem to have mingled to produce a rarer and more murderous madman, — we have felt a kind of vague awe of that mysterious Scandinavia, to which we

can yet trace back much of the spirit, and many of the characteristics, of the race to which we belong. Not less deserving the praise of boldness, and hardly more certain of reaching a happy haven, were the adventurous sailors of the Mayflower, than was Bjärne himself; and where can we find so meet a compeer for the Viking as the New England skipper, the flapping of whose sail breaks the silence of the most remote and sequestered inlets of every sea, hitherto the haunt only of the penguin and the seal, or of tribes hardly more human than they, — and who makes war upon the natives with his civilized equivalents for the sword and spear, an intelligence and shrewdness so remarkable as to have become proverbial, and which other nations of more sluggish wits have had the defensive sagacity to turn into a reproach? Nay, it asks a stouter and more self-sustained heart, to burst through the silent gates of unknown seas, as the New England mariner has often done, and, with a handful of comrades, to cope with cold and hunger, or, more than all, with that shapeless and mysterious doubt which broods gloomily over those moaning waters, than to descend, as did the Vikings of old, upon the green shores of England or France, secure, at least, that Saga would chant their deeds in all high festivals and in the van of battle for evermore, and seeing already the white arms of the Valkyrior beckoning them to the halls of Odin. New England, too, is not without her sagas. She has carved them in gigantic runes over the face of her whole territory, — in rail-roads, canals, factories, and gigantic expedients for comfort, commerce, and education, to have accomplished the hundredth part of which, in a ruder age, would have been "captain jewels in the carcanet" of some Odin's fame. The same niggardly soil, inhospitable climate, and energy of character, which drove forth the old Norsemen to seek for happier seats; the same courage and constancy, which won them a rude welcome in every clime, and compelled fortune everywhere to open her arms to them, — have not these, producing results modified only by the progress of events, made the Yankee accent a familiar sound over the whole globe? Have they not led to the pursuit of the seals and whales, alike of arctic and antarctic seas, of the bisons of the prairie, and the wild cattle of California and Brazil? Have they not given a Yankee ship-builder to the Ottoman, a Yankee engineer to the Czar,

a Yankee premier to the Affghaun, a Yankee innkeeper to the great Desert, and, lastly, have they not turned the stubbornness of our soil, and the coldness of our winter, into articles of export? What exploits of the Berserkirs would, at first sight, seem more mad than the enterprises which Massachusetts alone has begun and carried on, through trial and danger, to success and fortune? Were the three dints of Thor's hammer deeper than those made in cliffs and mountain ranges, to admit that huge iron clasp, forged to unite the great West with the Atlantic? To us, the name of Yankee, nickname though it be, is associated with so much of energy, courage, independence, intelligence, and moral genius, as to make it not less poetical than that of Viking, and far more sublime and more worthy of reverence.

But it is not only from the resemblances, which fancy may trace, between the Scandinavian character and that of New England, that the countries of the North are interesting to us. Beside those yellow-haired warriors, whom the North poured from her frozen loins to invigorate again, with a mixture of sturdier blood and more hardy virtues, the races of the South, rendered effeminate by long years of slavery, and by rude mimicry of the luxurious vices of their conquerors, more brutalizing even than those vices themselves; beside having given birth, in more recent times, to a race of kings illustrious, it is true, for pagan virtues rather than for those of the faith they professed, but still illustrious according to the judgment of the age in which they lived, and certainly remarkable for genius, an accomplishment which seems to have been wholly forgotten in the outfit of most kingly races; beside these tokens of more ephemeral greatness, for such all greatness must be, which is not founded on the advancement of humanity, she has also added not a few great names to the wider and more lasting history of the world. The eternal stars, the moon, nay, the all-pervading presence of light itself, will preserve for ever inviolate the memory of the name and the discoveries of Tycho Brahe. The hardly less beautiful, and, if rightly looked at, not less sublime, constellations of the meadow, the upland, and the wood, entwine the thought of Linnæus with the most delightful memories of childhood, and with all the sweetest and purest enjoyments of spring, summer, and autumn. A large

sect * revere the name of Emanuel Swedenborg as that of an inspired teacher, and of those who deny his claims as an interpreter of revelation, some admire him as a philosopher, and some as a poet, the more sublime Dante of the North. Thorwaldsen has added lustre to the annals of modern sculpture. Tegnér has given us one more name to add to the glorious roll of national poets. So delicate and gentle a blossoming we should hardly have looked for from that rugged stock; but nature has given us a parallel in our native cactus, which crowns a succession of rough and prickly shoots with a flower of the rarest and most delicate perfection. May we not hope for buds and blossoms of equal hue and fragrance from our own branch of this sturdy Northern stem?

From reading the works of Miss Bremer, we get an idea of the present Swedish character, in its general features, as not unlike that of the New England people. The customs and superstitions of the rustic population differ, indeed, in detail, but we find many points of resemblance in the outline. Susanna would have found herself quite at home in a Massachusetts farmhouse. What glimpses we obtain of the country life there seem so sunny and joyous, that we are quite persuaded, that the Swedish peasant is the happiest creature on earth, till we read of some other peasant and find him represented as equally happy, and at last discover, that tourists in search of the picturesque, and novelists when they inspire the pastoral pipe, have established happiness as a necessary coexistent with what is picturesque in the condition of peasantry everywhere. Red breeches and banditti hats, or no breeches and hats at all are, to these ladies and gentlemen, sufficient testimonials of prosperity; and a shepherdess of the Tyrol furnishes them with tangible proof of the unimpaired existence of Arcadia. They look upon men as figures disposed with ornamental propriety along the route they travel; and the comparative happiness of Swede, German, or Albanian is only distinguished by the relative brightness of the colors they wear. But our more practical minds demand, as proofs of the happiness of races, something more than the mere fact that they are picturesque. A nearer and closer examination of Sweden will reveal to

* Among whom, from reading her "Morning Watches," we should be inclined to class Miss Bremer.

us much misery and consequent crime beneath this seemingly gay surface.

If we may trust statistical returns, (which are often, in fact, only works of fiction written in numerals,) the proportion of convictions for crime to the number of inhabitants is much larger in Sweden than in England or even Ireland; and Stockholm shows a darker catalogue in this regard than London. Indeed, the amount of vice in the Swedish capital is almost incredible, even to those conversant with the morals of seaport towns. In the country, the state of things is hardly better, and the *wander-jähre*, prescribed by law to all trades, which have been made poetical by Goethe, and which we were wont to consider as the beautiful relic of a more romantic age, are considered by a highly intelligent and observing traveller, Mr. Laing, as very injurious to the morals of the artisan classes, and destructive of those habits of thrift and industry so essential to their comfort and wellbeing in all countries. That vice and unthrift are universal is by no means to be taken for granted from this statement.* Indeed, this would be impossible in any country to which the divine teachings of Christ had been communicated, and where a large body of clergy, generally faithful and zealous, and, in many cases, eminent for piety and learning, kept the memory of the spirit alive among those whose callings and employments would be likely to make them forget that spirit was not only as real a fact as matter, but also a much more important one. The parishes are too large, perhaps, to admit of much personal intercourse between the clergy and their people. In some of them, those who live upon the borders ride seventy miles to the church, generally coming only upon every third sabbath, and, before service, transact-

* Perhaps the greatest obstacle in the way of the improvement of the Swedish people is the almost universal vice of drunkenness. A friend who has travelled in Sweden informs us, that this evil was so widely spread and so little regarded, that clergymen were not infrequently seen staggering about in their canonicals! This is, no doubt, partly owing to the fact, that, the church being an Established one, the clergy are wholly independent of popular opinion. But a better state of things has already begun. Reform has already set its heel upon the head of the serpent of the distillery. We take pride in stating the fact, that it is to America that Sweden will owe her regeneration in this matter. Mr. Baird, the agent of the American Temperance Union, first opened the eyes of the Swedes to this national vice, and it was in consequence of his exertions, that the first Temperance Society was established in Sweden. Men have won immortality for far less worthy deeds than this.

ing any little business they may have with their neighbours, if they may be so called. But the good which results from this public acknowledgment of the presence of God in the world, and the weekly gathering together of the people, though it may be sneered at as a mere form by those who take a wholly superficial view of the matter, can be better understood by a student of human nature, than proved by tables of statistics.

The rather ambiguous praise of being "the French of the North" was won by the Swedes only at the expense of nearly all that was manliest and noblest in the national character. After all, the imitation was but a clumsy one. It was the *pirouetting* of a bear. It was Orson in a powdered *toupée* and laced coat. The elegance, the *savoir faire*, the taste and science of debauchery, were confined to the privileged class; but the lower orders were infected, and imitated, as far as their means would allow, the vices of the nobles. The disease thus engendered has been transmitted from generation to generation, and there is still a scrofulous taint in the constitution of the people. But the constitution is a sound one, and will, in time, throw off all its impurities. The great want at present in Sweden is that of a powerful middle class, whose intelligence and independence would prevent their catching the vices and follies of those above them, and, at the same time, would serve as a conductor of their education and refinement to the great mass of the people. Though such a class is growing up in Sweden, the ridiculous system of titles and its influences, stands in the way of their usefulness, by teaching them to depend for respect and power rather on the shadow than the substance. And the restrictions on all branches of industry are an insuperable bar to the rapid increase of such a class. The policy of Sweden with regard to all branches of industry is the same as that of England was before the reign of James the First. The very virtues of the Wasa race of kings, who, in general, aimed to be the fathers of their people, and who protected the lower orders from the predacious instincts of the higher, in truth prevented the growth of the middle class. The best institutions of a people grow out of its necessities. The inability, or neglect, of the sovereign to check the tyranny of the nobles, sharpened the instincts and foresight of the oppressed, and built up the republics of Italy and the free cities of Ger-

many, and give birth to the power of the Commons. But thanks to the strong sense of one of their kings, who made the ability to read a necessary qualification for a legal marriage, the Swedish people have already in themselves the seeds of moral regeneration, which, though now too deeply buried for germination, need only a breaking of the soil to shoot up and reproduce the long extinct flower of the true national character. The far happier social state of Norway is to be attributed only to her more popular form of government. With a language uniting the simple construction of the English with the richness, melody, and facility of forming compounds of the German, with a climate which creates that hardiness of frame the necessary foundation for hardiness of spirit, with a mass of traditionary lore more wild, beautiful, sublime, and, at the same time, more familiar to the general mind, than that of any other nation, Sweden will yet produce a literature of the highest order. Sagas are the natural growth of those solemn pine forests. There, in those vast silences, every event deepens into a legend or a poem. Already have some of the descendants of those old Vikings begun to assert the purity of their lineage by the same courage, the same adventurousness, the same trumpet-voice, which pervades the offspring of their Muse, — the fierce blood of Odin tempered and beautifully softened by intermixture with the womanly gentleness of graceful Balldur.

If we needed any further proof, that a popular aristocracy, if we may give such a name to the middle class, is almost wholly wanting in Sweden, we might find it in the works of the author under review. Had Miss Bremer been born in England, we doubt not that her nature would have led her to choose her characters chiefly from this class, who, by their industry, energy, and strong sense, have there raised the Saxon race again to a level with its Norman conquerors, if they have not given it even a preponderating weight. As it is, the sympathies of education and refinement have forced her to select from the highest order of her countrymen. Even where the manners are essentially those of the middle ranks of life, we must remember that the characters are nearly all chosen from the upper classes. Where the whole population is divided so strictly into two classes, where the dividing line is so absolute and well defined, and the mass of the people are in a state scarcely better than degraded, since it is one from

which there is but a bare possibility of rising, it is not to be wondered at, that we look in vain through Miss Bremer's works for delineations of the nobility of humble life.

The novel of society must necessarily be confined within a conventional horizon, the boundaries of which are modified by the state of things in the country where it is produced, and, in judging it, the jury should be empanelled from the country where the *venue* is laid. That only necessity has stinted Miss Bremer in the choice of her characters is plain enough from the fact, that the interest always springs from the character itself, and not from any accidents of birth or station. Unless Bruno and St. Orme may be taken as exceptions, she gives us no gentlemen who possess a tragic interest merely from the fact that they have deep, dark eyes and noble foreheads, surmounted by curls of glossy blackness, and who have a purulent loquacity on the subject of destiny and kindred matters. We have no maidens whom some knavish guardian has dispossessed of immense fortunes, to show us how much better off they are without them, but which they nevertheless miraculously recover. There is no smell of burnt cork and *rouge*, no melodramatic suggestion of buskined tyrants, oppressed maidens with unmanageable trains of white satin, and impregnable castles an inch thick, which excited ideas of the horrible and the marvellous in our childish imaginations. Hers are all tales of the present day. The purple, hazy distance of antiquity is not needed to give her characters their proper keeping in the mind's eye of the reader. Her novels show the healthier tone which is beginning to pervade the light literature of the day. The stories of feudal times, which made so many unhappy boys above their business, and in which all the male personages, except the king and the court fool, were made knights of, and, in virtue of their rank, could only begin a sentence with "By my halidome!" and end it by glancing fiercely at some rival Sir Gaston or Sir Everard, and touching significantly the hilts of their swords, — are now at their last gasp. From heroes such as these, the transition was easy and natural to pirates, knights of the post, painted savages, pickpockets, and other gentlemen of the same class, whose romantic lives stayed for awhile the appetite of those who supped on horrors at the cheap ordinary of the circulating library. Thence they have degenerated into the hardly respectable purlieus of

what is called "Cheap Literature," where the chivalric romance — the novel of costume — still wields a tottering sceptre over the taproom and the eating cellar. Its farthing candle has wellnigh gone out. Whether any potent spirit will arise, with "that Promethean touch which can its light relume," we take not upon ourselves to say. From what lower deep of inanity or ruffianism a hero may be fished up to supply this *hiatus* in the "Knowledge for the People," it were hard to imagine. The day of this kind of chivalry *is* over, and we are right glad of it. That our youth should grow up with the idea, that romance dwelt only in castles and courts, was a pitiful reflection. The unheroic taste of modern times rewards deeds, which would erst have claimed the golden spurs, with the penitentiary or the gallows. Even in Fielding's time, Jonathan Wild reduced himself to an ignominious death solely, if we may credit his admiring biographer, by his habit of contemplating objects in too classical and heroic a light. Chivalry is morally defunct. All civilized nations have done with it, and only the flashing of bowie-knives and pistols in certain portions of our territory gives token of its existence anywhere.

The tendency of the later school of novelists shows a vast change in the spirit and manners of literature. The novel has become an essay on morals, on political economy, on the condition of women, on the vices and defects of social life. Sentimentalism has gone very much out of fashion. Its tears began to savor too much of that vegetable which the Egyptians, perhaps with some mystic allusion to its pathetic properties, reverenced as divine. The piteous ravings of natures too noble to be understood, against the unfeeling common sense of the world, the natural and proper admiration of young ladies for rocks, and moonlight, and ruined abbeys, — all these have sought sanctuary in the parlours and chambers of the boarding-school. The revolution has been a healthy, and, let us hope, a thorough one. The sentimental era naturally resulted from the prevalence of the benumbing, cheerless, *soup-maigre*, French philosophy in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The recoil was wild and fearful. It was the convulsive struggle of the spirit to get rid of the French strait-jacket. Once free, it danced, it sang, it wept, it raved. No extravagance was too wild for it to prove its new-found freedom by. From

the icy regions of doubt and unbelief, it turned to find delight in the weakest superstition. Mrs. Radcliffe and Monk Lewis sent the whole reading world trembling to its bed, where it lay sleepless and afraid to blow its candle out. This was bad enough, no doubt; but any thing rather than Voltaire's water-gruel. There was, at least, one great step gained in the acknowledgment of the existence of such a natural phenomenon as the human heart. Now, humanity and Benthamism have become *de haut ton*, and have driven Shakspeare and the musical glasses out of fashionable conversation. Even the annuals, the last authorized asylum for elegant insipidity, where Lady Charlottes and Lords Fitz-everything, like attenuated French emigrants, still bandy the small-talk of the *ancien régime*, — even these have become half conscious of the change in affairs, and begin to lisp timidly about new poor-laws and charitable soup.

The modern novel, even in France, to a great extent, has become the vehicle of a moral. Novels are now mostly lay-sermons, delivered in the form of dialogue, the edge of the cup being sweetened with a plot. They lecture where they once only amused. But while the design of the novel has been changed for the better, we do not think, that the execution has equally improved. An ordinary novelist of the present day writes, it is true, with an ease and brilliancy of style, that would have won a ten years' immortality a century ago. Novels and reviews, and the necessity of rapid writing which they have induced, while they have added to the vivacity, the piquancy, and the pertness of our language, have robbed it of much of its soberness, its dignity, and its weighty richness. We have herds of ready writers, but they are mostly of an ephemeral character. We are not now often reminded of the condensed beauty and sedate grace of Bacon, the massive eloquence of Milton, the profound gravity of Browne, or the golden luxuriance of our English Chrysostom, Taylor. The epigrammatic style — a style carried to perfection by the more brilliant French novelists of the present day — is as prevalent in prose now as it was in verse in the time of Pope. We have gained in sparkle while we have lost in depth. The modern style of writing is often clear only because it is shallow. We see the bottom easily, but the shining pebbles and yellow sand hardly supply the want of those pearls, which lie only beneath

deeper and more silent waters, and which we must dive in order to bring up. The younger D'Israeli has a theory, (which Neal broached some twenty years before him,) that prose is the only natural vehicle for thought. We shall not here attempt to prove the contrary of this proposition, though we think it would be no very hard task. We have only to hope, that, if verse, which is necessarily more laborious, and which, while it makes our mother tongue "search her coffers" more narrowly, is also more compact and arch-like, is to be superseded by prose, the latter will be of a more grave and sinewy strain than that with which the predominance of novel writing has infected us. We are tired of its wit, its glitter, and its pretty, *dilettante* philosophizing. To play in a masterly fashion on the octave flute may be a worthy attainment. It is pleasant to hear now and then its lively, chirping, grasshopper notes. But a whole orchestra of them would be intolerable. They would seem to send burning sparks into the chambers of our ears, and we should long for the cool refreshment of the heavier and deeper instruments.

We have been enticed into these rather desultory remarks by the reflections naturally suggested by looking at Miss Bremer as an example of that change for the better, which has already begun to show itself in the novels of the day, and which is making silent but perceptible progress in other branches of literature. The novel has already become something more than a picture of manners, and it will not be long before the historian will cease to pile together a dry heap of facts, or to compose a panegyric on some favorite national cutthroat, and will write rather a history of men, looking at events from the higher level of a common humanity, and weighing the worth and nobleness of deeds by their tendency to advance and civilize mankind.

We would not have our remarks upon modern prose style considered as applying particularly to Miss Bremer. Though sometimes a little ambitious, sometimes deficient in those nicer delicacies of taste which distinguish her sex, often confused in her metaphors, and occasionally too willing to say a profound thing to be able to do so, she generally writes in a sweet, domestic, fireside style of great simplicity, and which gives our hearts the most convincing proof of her being a woman of genius, by leaving them happier and kinder than

she found them. In one respect, we think her superior to most of the contemporary novelists, her characters being universal, and not national. Whatever Swedish peculiarity there may be in their manners, there is none in their natures. They are not simply Swedes and Norwegians, but men and women. We recognize them, after a moment's thought, as old acquaintances. They are as much at home in Boston as in Stockholm. Her children, too, and especially her little girls, are hitherto unequalled. In spite of the obstinate assertion of spinsterhood in the prefix to her name, we can hardly help believing that she has a nursery of her own. We know the particular footsteps of each of the little ones, as they hop about overhead. We hear familiar voices from the high chairs at the breakfast-table. We know by rote the exact weight of every one of their heads, and, when we hear a thump upon the staircase or the floor, we are sure beforehand whose voice will be raised to expostulate against destiny and the laws of gravitation. When they ask questions, we remember with a thrill the unanswerable philosophical theories and inextricable syllogisms, that have been propounded to us by the unbreeched Newtons and Leibnitzes of the nursery. While they are in the parlour, we shudder for the vases and the teapoys. While they are out of it, we expect to hear crashes from the china-closet, or cries for assistance from *impromptu* difficulties, to get into which would seem to have demanded a week's forethought. When they levy a tribute of stories, we are reminded how often our stock of invention, and fairy-lore, and improvised doggerel, has been pumped dry by the little besieging army that scaled our knees. And Petrea's nose! It is a character by itself, — a more distinct one than the indefatigable Mr. James has been able to *souvenir*, as the musicians say, out of Scott. Ovid's nose, or Herrick's, was not more individual. It takes rank without question with Bardolph's and Slawkenbergius's, and that false nose, so real in its unreality, of Sampson Carrasco's squire.

But it is not merely as a painter of character, though she does almost always give us the fresh flowers, and not a mere *hortus siccus*, with designating labels, that Miss Bremer claims our regard. In all her works, there is something to make us better. To read them brings us out of the jostling world, and seems gently to lead us back again to the dear

circle round the hearth of home; a circle the memory of which, be it bright or gloomy, accompanies the heart through life like a moving horizon, where the clouds still hang at a distance, as if they were made only to be turned into golden towers and pinnacles by the sun, and which keeps alive in us the purest and freshest of our inspirations, the yet dewy, half-opened blossoms of hope and morning. If dear Sancho Panza blessed the man who invented sleep, so would we, with our whole hearts, bless those who invent thoughts and images for us, that make us children again, and set us chasing butterflies and binding weed nosegays again, in those old meadows, or listening to the history and the legend around the old woodfire, that flickered so pleasantly on the dear faces, which throng about us once more, as ruddy and as free from wrinkles, as they were then. And therefore bless Fredrika Bremer! And who more richly has earned a blessing, than she who can make bloom again those wilted roses of our spring, — who can make us feel that we have yet lost nothing, if we have not lost the angelic capability of being made children again? Those writers who teach us to trust in the buckler of the impenetrable sneer, may, for a while, win the praise of strength from our unsteady and anchorless minds; but in our time of trial, we learn that their strength is but weakness, and that they only are truly mighty who give us back our homely faith.

With "The Bondmaid" begins our first knowledge of Miss Bremer as a poet. Though written in prose, it is a poem in the true meaning of that word. The plot of this little drama is very simple. The scene is laid in pagan times. Kumba and Feima are two bond-maidens of the Princess Frid, who is betrothed to King Dag, now absent on some warlike expedition. The spirit of Kumba is above her lot. She feels continually the want of some purer and more comprehensive dispensation than that of Walhalla, which offers nothing to the slave but an eternity of bondage, and confines its rewards to the highborn and the warrior. The kindness of her mistress is more galling to her than harshness would be, for she cannot but feel, that it is near akin to the kindness which would be shown to a favorite dog, or to any thing else which claimed care by being utterly dependent. Her chain is invisible, but only the more painful, being fastened around her spirit, and it weighs the more heavily from the very roses

with which it is hidden. Even her unwilling belief in the religion of her fathers makes her the more eager to throw off its oppressive effect. That she was the slave of a princess, which would have made a less thoughtful and climbing nature happy, is to her only a greater misery. Sadly and truly she exclaims to Feima,

"Why must a slave dwell in a king's palace, and learn to compare herself with the noble? Why must she learn to love the great, the beautiful, when her portion is with deformity and meanness? Why must she gain knowledge which must only teach her to despair?"— pp. 14.

Another element in Kumba's unhappiness is, that she also loves King Dag. The character of Feima is a complete foil to that of Kumba. Cheerful and loving, she bears through life that surest divining-rod for the most hidden springs of happiness — content. She walks attended by a sunshine of her own, which seems to shield her from sympathy with anything but the sunshine of others. No two characters could be more opposed; yet we know not which is sadder, — the contentment, or the pining anguish, of a slave. Frid is gentle and kind; but it is the easy gentleness and kindness of a prosperous heart, and she is too happy in her station and her love, to have her spirit ever darkened by the shadow of others' sorrows. The world comes rightly to her, and she dreams not that it can come otherwise to any. She knows that no change can make *her* happier, and so it never occurs to her, that there may be some to whom a change would be from death to life. But she is naturally of a beautiful nature, and only needs what all need, the gentle ministry of sorrow, to raise her soul from negative to positive beauty.

Kumba, wrought upon by her love, her ambition, and a deep feeling of wrong, determines to murder Frid, and to this end obtains a poison from the witch Grimgerda, and administers it. Immediately after, she repents. But it is too late. Frid dies, just as the white sail of her betrothed comes in sight. The great interest of the drama arises from the prefigurement of Christianity in the longing soul of Kumba. To us, there is a great deal of tragic pathos in it. The whole story is pagan, yet in the forgiving spirit of Frid, the repentance of Kumba, and the humble content of Feima, we find the eternal truths of Christianity foreshadowed in the eternal wants of the human soul. Nor are the spirits, that

haunt us here with their promptings of good and evil, wanting. There are choruses of spirits of light and darkness, whose voices are heard now and then through the course of the story, to remind us of the wondrous spirit-land on whose borders we stand, and the skirts only of whose brightness we are allowed to behold.

Willingly would we make many extracts from this beautiful volume; but so many passages are favorites with us, that it is hard to choose. We can find room for only one of the last scenes.

"*Frid rests, half reclining, upon a magnificent couch. Kumba stands at her feet and observes her. The sun is going down.*

"Frid. Soon, soon will all be past. Soon will the light of a new world surround me. For the last time I bow my head before thee, thou glorious earthly sun! Thanks that thy rays yet once would warm my bosom! thanks for thy last caress! My life's sun too goes down; but the sweet calm of evening fills my heart; I feel that it is beautiful to die.

"Ah, even in death my dim eye seeks the sea, and watches for his sail, and calls him home. But he shall come and find his bride no more. — She has gone forth, but only, oh beloved! that she may follow thee, may serve thee better.

"Kumba. (*aside.*) The pangs that rend me pass the pangs of death.

"Frid. My soul is reconciled to death. Past is all murmur, all complaint. Mine eye is dim, but all is bright within me. — Death cannot part the loving. — Love is deathless. See! The bright arches of the heavenly bridge! The waves of the celestial waters play about it. Welcome, thou radiant vision! Thou pointest out the path that I shall tread. Soon shall I come! All-Father! I am ready. I am at peace with heaven, at peace with earth.

"Kumba, (*aside.*) How her light shines forth! How my night deepens! I no longer hate her. My hatred aims its shaft at my own breast.

"Frid. Kumba, my faithful Kumba! Thanks for the love that thou hast ever borne me! Wear thou this gem in memory of me. Be thou free, Kumba, be thou rich and happy.

"Kumba. Princess, but one thing do I ask of thee.

"Frid. And what?

"Kumba. Thy hate! — Thou diest by my hand; by poison that thy slave prepared for thee. Know that she hated thee; that like a snake she stung thee to the heart, and from thy pains drew pleasure.

"Frid. All-righteous gods! — Thou, Kumba! Thou didst hate me! Wherefore?

"Kumba. For thy good fortune; — for thy beauty's sake; — because of thy betrothal with King Dag, whom I too dared to love! — because the gods' injustice gave thee all, and gave me nothing; — because of the soul-sickness that envy and despair had wrought in me. For these I hated thee! hated, and am avenged.

"Frid. Oh, Kumba, thou couldst feel thus to me, when I so loved thee and so trusted thee!

"Kumba. I have betrayed thee. I have murdered thee. Hate me, then, loathe me!

"Frid. Thy hand has given me death. A higher hand has granted deathless life. For my own fate I grieve not! but for thee, unhappy one! my soul is sorrowful. Ere I go hence, take my forgiveness, Kumba!

"Kumba. Canst thou forgive me?

"Frid. Oh, Kumba, hate no more, so shall thy soul have peace. — Thou hast not wrought me so much evil, Kumba. — Thy soul was sick. — I understand it now. Forgive me that I was so happy near thee, and did not mark thy suffering! Look not so wildly on me. Give me thy hand. Thou wast unhappy, Kumba; this was thy crime. —

"Kumba (*aside*). Can such goodness be? such boundless love? My heart will break!

"Frid. Thy lips move strangely, but I hear no sound. — Dost thou remember when thou camest to me, a suffering, ill-used child? These hands did heal thy wounds, these eyes wept over thee. I loved thee from that hour. — And now my soul cannot go hence in peace, if thou do hate me. Some evil spell has bound thy heart, my child! thou couldst not thus have hardened it against me. Come nearer, Kumba, yet once would I weep over thee!

"Kumba. Thou hast prevailed! — Behold me at thy feet! — Hear my last prayer!

"Frid. My Kumba, speak!

"Kumba. Let thy slave die with thee! — Let the same fire from which thy soul shall rise, release my guilty spirit. I would yet serve thee in the land of shades.

"Frid. Follow me then in death. The God of gods will then appoint thy lot. It may be, in the after-life, princess and slave shall be but empty names. — Come, join thy soul with mine. Never hast thou been nearer to me. — Together will we die; — both shall watch over him whom both have loved.

"KUMBA. These tears! Oh rapture! Let me bathe thy hand with them.

"FRID. Yes, bathe my hand with them! They warm my heart. The sea! the sea! Look to the sea!

"KUMBA. Oh gods! he comes!

"FRID. He comes! I thought it was the gleam of his white banner; — but my sight fails. — He comes!

"KUMBA. Thou wilt not see him. Thou diest. Oh thou must hate me!

"FRID. No, I pardon thee. Do thou forgive thyself!

"KUMBA. Never! thou diest!

"FRID (*her arms outstretched towards the sea*). I go, I go, but to a brighter world; there, oh my Dag! to meet thee once again! (*Dies.*)

"KUMBA. Dead? Yes, all is past. Now will I also die! Avenging deities, I wait my doom! She has forgiven, but can ye forgive? To you I render up my guilty spirit: Oh mighty Thor, accept the sacrifice! Though thy wild winds shall urge my tortured spirit, unresting round the confines of the earth, in silence shall it bear; the doom is just. But, god of storms! thine empire hath an end. The day will come, when to a mightier King thou shalt resign thy power. — Will HE have pity? — Shall not the humble, the repentant soul, at length find rest upon some quiet shore? (*Sinks at the feet of Frid.*)" — pp. 99–104.

It remains only to speak of the translation. It is, we think, excellent. The language is chaste, flowing, and melodious, and, in the higher passages, we observe that it rises into blank verse, though printed as prose. It has the great merit of appearing like an original work, while, at the same time, it is faithful to the original. In the lyrical passages, the translator has taken some liberties, but not without reason. In the original, the metre is of a crabbed kind, utterly incapable of being reproduced in English; or, if not incapable of reproduction, it would appear only as a curiosity in our language. As these passages now stand, they are beautiful poems, perhaps due rather more to the translator than to Miss Bremer, yet retaining all the spirit and meaning of the verses on which they are founded.

We come now to the other works of Miss Bremer, the names of which we have put at the head of this article. It is not necessary to enter into a critical examination of them at this time. What we have already said of Miss Bremer*

* *N. A. Review*, LVI. p. 497, and LVII. p. 128.

will apply equally to all her tales. These have the same characteristic excellences and the same defects. Our chief concern is with a remarkable manifesto, which Mrs. Howitt has seen fit to prefix to her translation of the "Diary" and "Strife and Peace," and which seems rather sharply to challenge a strict criticism of her general abilities and qualifications as a translator. Though we had always thought, that Miss Bremer had hardly been put in a just light before her English readers, yet, regarding Mrs. Howitt's translations only as modest and well-meaning endeavours, we could not find it in our hearts to subject them to so thorough an analysis as they deserved. We were grateful to her, and were, perhaps, too careful not to incur the proverbial reproach of looking the gift-horse narrowly in the mouth. But now, we seem only to comply with her own wishes, in applying proper tests to ascertain how much she has debased the pure metal of Miss Bremer, in the process of recoining it for English circulation.

Some American translations of Miss Bremer's works having been reprinted in London, Mrs. Howitt saw fit to publish a statement of her claims and grievances, which, we must say, is the most coarse, ill-natured, unjust, and unwomanly production that we have ever read. Such a document, emanating from a female member of the Society of Friends, is certainly a literary curiosity. With the English publisher, Mr. William Smith, who, to borrow Mrs. Howitt's choice phraseology, "pokes himself in just before her on the literary causeway," and who has discovered a simple method of "extracting public good" by the hitherto untried expedient of "treading on her toes," we have nothing to do. Our own duty is to expose the true character of Mrs. Howitt's allegations against the American translators, and her own unfitness for the task which she claims to monopolize. To find fault with us, first for our unhappy national peculiarity of appropriating and reprinting the labors of our English brethren, and then for endeavouring to avoid that error by supplying our home market with home productions, seems to be, as Mrs. Howitt elegantly remarks, "coming it too strong over us."* Yet this is the erratic line of argument that she has pursued. She denies the right of Americans to meddle

* *Strife and Peace*, Harpers' reprint, p. 95.

with Miss Bremer at all. We shall not plead the Declaration of Independence in bar to this allegation, but shall content ourselves with the more satisfactory process of showing, that the American versions are better than her own. Meantime, we would suggest, with all due deference, that if we are debarred from any use of the original Swedish, some of our fellow-citizens might be usefully employed in translating some parts of Mrs. Howitt's translations, and reducing them to that provincial form of English which is understood on this side of the Atlantic. At present, through the dim medium of Mrs. Howitt, Miss Bremer seems to be in the predicament of the unhappy but unconscious Bottom, when his transformation made him a terror to his friends, and the horror-stricken Quince exclaimed, "Bless thee, Bottom, bless thee! *thou art translated!*"

The English publisher of the American versions has taken a part of the preface to the "President's Daughters," and prefixed it as an advertisement to his whole series, beginning with "Strife and Peace"; and on this fact Mrs. Howitt has founded an ingenious superstructure of argument and abuse. Had she seized upon this circumstance merely as a weapon in her attack upon her English rival, it would have been fair enough; but before using it as an argument to support an accusation of wilful falsehood against the American translator, she should have made herself perfectly assured of its truth.* Her charges against the American translations may be briefly summed up as follows: That they are translated from the German; that they are very inaccurate; and that they abound in omissions and "Yankee slang." The "President's Daughters," the only one of the American versions which claims to be corrected by the Swedish, was so corrected, and had the benefit of a revision, we are informed, by a distinguished scholar in this neighbourhood, who has had some opportunities of studying the English language under most favorable circumstances in its native country, — opportunities which Mrs. Howitt, if she ever enjoyed them, has most lamentably neglected to profit by.

As Mrs. Howitt's indignation is chiefly directed against

* Her neglect has the appearance of being a wilful oversight, as we happen to know, that the Boston publisher had taken pains to forward all the American translations to Mrs. Howitt, some time before they were republished in London.

the American translation of "Strife and Peace," which happened more immediately to interfere with her "speculation," we shall dwell mostly upon that, in instituting a comparison between the American versions and her own. This is the fairer course, because "Strife and Peace" is the last of her translations, and may, therefore, be supposed to have had the advantage of her increased experience and greater familiarity with the language of the original, and because we have her own authority for regarding it as "the most eloquent and beautiful of all Miss Bremer's writings." Moreover, though the three American translations bear the strongest internal evidence of being, as they were, the work of different hands, Mrs. Howitt has conveniently assumed, that they are the productions of the same person, in order, with the greater show of fairness, to lay at the door of one the carefully gleaned errors and imperfections of the whole series.

Mrs. Howitt's first charge is, that all the American translations are made from the German, and that "the blunders and misconceptions of the German translator, often very ludicrous, are most regularly and carefully copied." It is true, that she somewhat blunts the force of this accusation, as far as "Strife and Peace" is concerned, by informing us, on the very next page, that the German translation of it "*is perfect.*" But such little eccentricities as these are common in her hysteric preface. We cheerfully grant her the distinction she seems to claim, and state here, once for all, that though she has sometimes copied the blunders of the German translator, yet she has oftener the merit of making entirely original, and far more startling, mistakes of her own.* Let us enter more into particulars.

It will not be difficult to prove, that Mrs. Howitt makes all her own translations chiefly from the German, and that, if she understands Swedish at all, her knowledge of it must be limited and superficial. We select some examples of wrong translation from the first few pages of her version of "Strife

* It has been stated, on highly respectable authority, that the words, "translated from the Swedish," were inserted in the title-page of "Strife and Peace," by the publisher, without the knowledge, and against the expressed wish, of the translator. This was done, probably, to indicate its origin, as the same words were put by the same publisher upon the title-page of his reprint of Mrs Howitt's translation of "The Neighbours," which was evidently made from the German.

and Peace." In the very first page, (89, of Harpers' reprint), there are four blunders. *Fjellstuga*, (mountain-house,) is translated "rock-house." *Rykende*, (reeking, smoking,) she has changed to "rushing." She has here been misled by the German translation, where it is rendered "*rauchende*," which she mistook, probably, for "*rauschende*." Her acquaintance with German is hardly superior to her knowledge of the Swedish, if we may judge by this specimen. The word *fruktansvärdt*, (fearful, fearworthy,) is metamorphosed into "fruitful." Mrs. Howitt falls into this error whenever she meets the word, and, in one instance (page 90), where it is applied to a thunderstorm, she adroitly extricates herself from a dilemma by substituting for the original substance the shadowy platitude of "the *affluent* pomp of the storm"! On the same page, (90, of Harpers' reprint), following a blunder in the German, she turns *Budeja* into a proper name; and, in the next line, depending on the same unsafe authority for the meaning of *Fjösjente*, she metamorphoses a hapless *milkmaid* into a "cowboy." On page 93, she makes Susanna "scold," although there is no such imputation on her character in the original. On page 95, she causes Harald, in criticising Susanna's beer, to pronounce upon the merits of an article before testing it. Miss Bremer had given no such privilege to her hero. On the next page (96), with equal cleverness, she transmutes a mountain path into a man, and speaks of *Maristein* (properly, *Maristien*,) and "*his* tales of joy and sorrow." On the next page (97), we find "tell him how I *love*," instead of "tell him how I *live*." This comes with a bad grace from one who is very severe on the American translator for saying "teach me how to *think*," instead of "*thank*," an error which did not jar with the context so much as her own. On the same page, she makes a Norwegian of the olden time exhibit a tenacity of life, which casts old Parr, old Jenkins, and the Countess of Desmond, quite into the shade, by surviving his own demise. Of this remarkable man, whose name was Halgrim, we are told, that he "alone, of all the people who had *died* there, remained *alive*." What renders this display of *vivacity* the more astounding is, that it took place during a pestilence. The Cid, we know, some centuries after his death, knocked down a Jew who attempted to pull his beard, making an *extempore* convert of him to Christianity; and

the peerless Roland assisted at his own funeral solemnities in *Notre Dame*. But both of these heroes must yield the palm to our Norwegian, who not only *lived*, but married, and became a respectable citizen and householder, after his decease. Miss Bremer simply says, that he alone survived "of all the people who had *lived* there," and this quite prosaic statement is followed by the American translator.

On page 98, we have "golden *forests*," for "golden *harvests*." On page 100, "who, with his crown, had lost his balance," for "whose crown had lost its balance." Page 101, "To all those who love us," for "To all that is dear." Same page, "Yes, indeed! yes, indeed!" for what may be freely rendered, "So much to do!" (*travelt*, oppressed with business.) Page 103, "woods," for "clouds." Page 104, "new *kinds of grass*," for "new *pastures*." Page 104, we have "agreeably to a clever hen-instinct," for "agreeably to a noble instinct of the cock," namely, that of saving for Dame Partlett any titbits he may discover. Chaucer might have set Mrs. Howitt right, Londoner though he was. In his "Nonnes Preestes Tale," he tells us how Sir Chanticleer

> "flew down fro the beme,
> For it was day, and eke his hennes alle;
> *And with a chuk he gan hem for to calle,*
> *For he had found a corn.*"

Page 106, "forborne to shed many," for "caused so few to be shed." On the 109th page, she goes to the expense of an original note, in order to treat her readers to a blunder. She tells us, that Bjärne, sailing westward from Newfoundland,* arrived in *Upper Canada!* This being an English colony, she should have known better. Had it been in the United States, the mistake would have been more excusable, for the English geographers are so "highly ill-informed" in regard to them, that an Edinburgh Geographical Encyclopædia, of high authority, gravely informed the British public, a few years ago, that "Boston was the capital of the *State* of New England, and, till lately, of the whole United States." And this Encyclopædia was edited by Hugh Murray, F. R. S., a gentleman who probably

* Bjärne, it is supposed, landed somewhere in Massachusetts. *Vide* the *Antiquitates Americanæ* of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries; also, their report for the last year.

knows familiarly the names, situations, and political relations of all the mud villages in the interior of Africa!* To return to Mrs. Howitt; on page 112, we have "mournfully," translated "smilingly." On page 119, again, she gives us "and even for avoiding intercourse with the world," instead of "and also for avoiding conversation with Harald." But we cannot waste any more time in tracing Mrs. Howitt through all the doublings of her erratic translation. We have only selected the most glaring mistakes out of the abundance with which her first few pages supplied us.

We will now give a few instances of Mrs. Howitt's ungrateful and unfilial treatment of her own mother-tongue. Above the petty artifices of grammar her independent nature soars superior. She seems to be of honest Jack Cade's mind, who attributed it to the Lord Say, as a chief crime, that he had "most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school." On page 95, we have "higher than *me!*" So, in "Home," page 55, "When Eva, dear, is as old as *me*." Page 117 of "Strife and Peace," "Harald, *whom* I thought wished me well." Page 118, "the boy *for* whom thou hast *loved* and deplored," &c. "Had shook," "had woke," "different *to*," "in comparison *of* which," *passim*. How it may be in England, we do not take upon ourselves to say; but in America, we think, to quote Mrs. Howitt's preface again, that "all well-educated persons will be careful not to introduce into their families" such singular forms of expression as these.

Of inelegant construction, the following specimens must suffice. Page 90, "On a cool September evening, strangers arrived at the Grange, which had now been long uninhabited. *It* was an elderly lady, of noble, but gloomy exterior, in deep mourning." A ship, we know, is generally spoken of as "she"; but in the whole circle of our reading, we never knew a house to be called an "elderly lady." On page 91, Harald "expresses himself in the following manner:"

"I cannot properly describe to *you*, Alette, the impression

* We learn from the same grave authority, that the Erie Canal was "constructed to unite the waters of the Hudson with those of the *Mohawk!*"

which she made upon me. I might describe to *you* her *tall growth*, her noble bearing, her countenance, where, spite of many wrinkles, and a pale-yellow complexion, *traces of great beauty are incontrovertible;* the lofty forehead, around which black locks sprinkled with gray, press forth from beneath her simple cap. I might tell of her deep, serious eyes, of her low and yet solemn voice; and yet *thou* couldst form to *thyself* no representation of that which makes her so uncommon."

We think Harald showed only a due appreciation of himself by telling Alette in advance, that he "could not *properly* describe" Mrs. Astrid. Page 95, "that is *coming it strong over us.*" Alette, who is described as graceful and elegant, and with fascinating powers of conversation, commends her brother in this wise (page 108); "Yes, *one* may probably three times a day get angry with him, before *we* can rightly get to know him; but this is certain, that if he wishes it, *you* cannot get clear of him without loving him." Mrs. Howitt is very fond of the verb "to seem"; it is clear, that she considers nothing as really happening or being done, but only as seeming to act or to take place. Instances of this kind, where music *seems* to begin, mountains *seem* to "uplift themselves," and the like, are so common that we need give no particular references.

From the "Diary," we glean the following examples. Page 23, "Without faults Lennartson is not, *just as little as any other mortal.*" Page 27, "now I had *exactly today* read in my newspaper." Page 32, "neither were we either invited out." On the same page, Miss Bremer, quite against her will, is made to enforce the very strange ethical doctrine, that, under certain circumstances, it is our duty to become insane. "And one should be compelled to see these from noonday till midnight; from noonday till midnight one must be polite to them; and from noonday till midnight one must amuse them. Ah! one *should go distracted!*" Well may a note of exclamation "erect itself," as Mrs. Howett would say, at the conclusion of a sentence expressing such an original doctrine. On the same page, we find, "my stepmother sate upon the sofa, and swallowed her yawns *under* the most polite gestures." Page 34, "But if it happen that one becomes *shook up*, or animated, then one can see that *it is not quite so over.*" Page 39, "I have heard *that which is bad* spoken of St. Orme's affairs." Page 46,

"No way is more difficult than the way to *collect oneself out* of dissipation." This dilemma probably arises, when, as on page 56, "*one*" is "*crushed to pieces.*" Page 47, "the hue of death overspread her face, *which*, *with a dull cry of pain*, sunk upon her breast." This "seems" to be carrying the metaphor of "a speaking face" to the verge of probability." Page 52, "That is an entirely mistaken, an entirely crazy turning of the question, an entirely insane direction. Does a young girl give herself away, or is she given away to a dolt, or a *block of wood*, or any *other beast*, then, indeed, she must drive upon a wooden road." We never heard before, that a "*block of wood*" was a species of animal. The sentence reminds us of a gentleman, who, having been seduced by a convenient rhyme into writing the following couplet,

> "As I was passing by a pump,
> Riding on a little jump,"

added, in a modest note, that "jump here means horse, or any other beast of burden." Page 61, "Or was it the intention of Lennartson to *hurl* a *lightning flash* at St. Orme, or was it the bad conscience of the latter *which made him struck.*"

Mrs. Howitt begins by charging quite serious omissions upon the English reprint of the American "Strife and Peace"; but she becomes

> "*small* by degrees, and beautifully less,"

and descends at last to the leaving out of a single word. We have the English reprint now before us, and can hardly believe the evidence of our senses, when we find that by far the greater number, and the most important, of the passages which she positively asserts are omitted, are to be found at full length in the text! We confess that we had before entertained some suspicions, that Mrs. Howitt was as faulty in her ideas of truth as of grammar. She evidently entertains some very original views upon this delicate subject. In the preface to "The Neighbours," she speaks of some other works of Miss Bremer, as "*ready for publication*," leading her readers to suppose, that she had already translated them; and, among them, she mentions "*The House.*" When the translation of this book was published, it recovered its proper title, "The Home." Mrs. Howitt had trans-

lated the name from the *title-page of the German translation*, where it was called "*Das Haus.*" *And this title-page must have been all that she had ever seen of a book, which, according to her account, she had already translated and made "ready for publication!"* This is a grave charge, but it is easily susceptible of proof. In Swedish, the title is simply *Hemmet*, corresponding exactly to "The Home" in English. But in German, there is no word of precisely the same signification, — a fact stated by the German translator in a prefatory note, which Mrs. Howitt might have seen, if she had turned over the title-page. Perhaps, however, she had not seen even the German translation, and took the name from Brockhaus's advertising list. After going so far as this, in order to prevent competition, it is rather singular that Mrs. Howitt should talk of the mercenary motives of American translators.

Before we quit this very painful theme, it is proper to direct the reader's attention to a few more facts, which are necessary to show the true character of Mrs. Howitt's assertions. One of her most bitter remarks is directed against the American translator of "Strife and Peace," for having omitted some of the mottos to the chapters, — especially, *a single line from* Tegnér. Is it possible, that Mrs. Howitt had forgotten, that, in her translation of the "President's Daughters," she had omitted six of the poetical quotations, and among them *no less than eighteen lines from Tegnér*? She is certainly more zealous than circumspect in her charges of omission. She knew that she was speaking to an English audience, who would not feel interest enough in the matter to examine for themselves. A single instance, selected from three enumerated in one short sentence, all equally destitute of foundation in truth, must suffice. We have rarely seen so much untruth compressed into so convenient and portable a form. She says, "page 27 (occurs) another (omission) of no less than nine lines descriptive of the wild Halling dance." On page 27 of Smith's reprint, (the edition referred to by Mrs. Howitt,) the Halling dance is described thus :

"It begins, creeping along the ground with short, sliding steps, and with motions of the legs and arms in which great strength is indolently displayed. There is something bearish, awkward, slothful, half-dreaming in its movements. But it awakes — it

becomes animated. Then the dancers stand erect and make displays of strength, in which power and agility seem to contend with indolence and awkwardness, and to conquer. He, who but now seemed bound to the earth, springs on high, and moves through the air as if on wings. Then, after many neckbreaking movements and evolutions, which make the head of the unaccustomed spectator swim, the dance retakes its former quiet, careless, heavy character, and the performers end, as they began, stooping listlessly toward the earth."

In her own version, it reads as follows :

"It begins, as it were, upon the ground, *amid jogging little hops*, accompanied by movements of the arms in which, as it were, a great strength plays negligently. It is somewhat bear-like, indolent, clumsy, half-dreaming. But it wakes, it becomes earnest. Then the dancers rise up and dance, and *display themselves in expressions of power*, in which strength and dexterity seem to divert themselves by playing with indolence and clumsiness, and to overcome them. The same person who just before seemed fettered to the earth, springs aloft and throws himself round in the air as though he had wings. Then, after many breakneck movements and evolutions, before which the unaccustomed spectator grows dizzy, the dance suddenly assumes again its first quiet, careless, somewhat heavy character, and closes, as it began, sunk upon the earth."

What peculiarity of vision Mrs. Howitt may be afflicted with, which prevents her from seeing this passage, we cannot tell. It may be, that she did not recognize it in the easy and more elegant dress in which the American translator had clothed it. Or it may be, and we fear this is more likely, that a keen selfishness is apt to produce the most helpless myopy in its unhappy votaries. Merely adding, that the greater number of the omissions charged upon the American translation are quite as *singular* as this, we leave the matter to the decision of our readers. Even had these charges been true, they would have been scarcely less dishonest, considered as coming from Mrs. Howitt, who had left out three pages at once in "Nina," and had changed the plot of "The Home," in order to conceal a similar omission in her translation of that tale.

As Mrs. Howitt is particularly plaintive in regard to the poetical translations, we will give an example or two of the comparative excellence of the American versions and her

own. It is proper to state, generally, that the ruggedness of her translations must not be ascribed to their literal character, for they are usually not more faithful to the original than their American rivals. The motto to the first chapter of "Strife and Peace," in Mrs. Howitt's version, stands thus :

"Still the old tempests rage around the mountains,
And ocean's billows, as of old, appear :
The roaring wood and the resounding fountains
Time has not silenced in his long career,
For Nature is the same as ever."

The following is the American version :

"Nature has known no change, felt no decay,
For untold ages in this ancient land ;
Her dark woods wave, her rivers hold their way,
Majestic as when fresh from Nature's hand.
Down the dread depths, as in the dawn of time,
The raging cataracts their waters urge,
And proudly now, as in their youthful prime,
The gray cliffs offer battle to the surge."

The motto to Mrs. Howitt's second chapter is as follows :

"Knowest thou the deep, cool vale
Where church-like stillness doth prevail ;
Where neither flock nor herd you meet,
Which hath no name, nor track of feet ? "

The American edition reads thus :

"Knowest thou the hidden vale,
The still, the nameless, o'er whose silent meads
Wander no grazing herds; on whose green turf
The restless foot of man has worn no path ? "

Mrs. Howitt has shown a great liking for cattle. She has conveyed ("the wise it call") these herds out of the American version. The original says nothing of them. A literal translation would be, — "Knowest thou the cool, deep, church-still vale, without *hearths* (*Arner*), without path and name ? " Possibly, she took it from the German, mistaking *Heerde* for *Heerd*. But we are warranted in tracing it to the American version from the fact that, in another place, where Miss Bremer has quoted Job, Mrs. Howitt has followed the American translator, *and given a different text from that in the Swedish.*

Mrs. Howitt gives the following translation of some lines by Rein on the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

" At once is dimmed thy glory's ray ;
Thy flowery garland fades away,
Bowed mother ! But thy brightness splendid
Shall never more be ended.
The grateful world on me her love will cast,
Who mother of Gustavus wast ! "

The American translator gives the following version :

" Bowed are the honors of thy stately head ;
Dimmed is thy light ; withered thy garlands lie ;
Yet weep not hopelessly o'er thy brave dead,
Thou mourning mother ! Glory cannot die.
Thy hero passed to no ignoble grave,
He fell not ere a deathless fame was won ;
And earth shall count among her true and brave
The warrior king, Gustavus, Sweden's son ! "

We now take our leave of a subject upon which, we can truly say, we had a great reluctance to enter. We have made but a very limited exposure of Mrs. Howitt's groundless claims to a monopoly of Miss Bremer,* and her unwomanly attacks upon her American rivals ; and we were only induced to undertake the task by a sense of justice. Mrs. Howitt (we can no longer bring ourselves to call her by the gentle name of Mary) had been dear to so many in this country, that her ungracious preface caused sorrow in many hearts. We cannot but hope, that she did not write it herself, though her assuming it, by the addition of her name, is hardly less painful to think of. We should have the same feeling in regard to any *woman ;* but it becomes deeper and sadder when we receive so rude a shock from one we have loved as a type of feminine gentleness and delicate sympathy with beautiful things. If any thing passes that sorrow which the great Tuscan deemed the heaviest, it is to be obliged to think with aversion of one who has once been dear and welcome to our hearts.

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* As to her claim as a discoverer, it is only ridiculous. Miss Bremer's works had gone through several editions in German, and had been praised in the German reviews, long before Mrs. Howitt undertook her " speculation." The Swedish edition of a part of them had been in the Harvard College Library *five years* when Mrs. Howitt's first translation appeared.

Art. VIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Poems on Man, in his various Aspects under the American Republic.* By Cornelius Mathews, Author of the "Motley Book," "Behemoth," "Puffer Hopkins," &c. New York: Wiley and Putnam. 1843. 16mo. pp. 112.

Mr. Mathews is more favorably known to the literary public as the strenuous advocate of an international copyright law, than as an author. Yet some of his earlier writings were not without merit. His story called "Behemoth" showed uncommon imagination, and considerable power of style. It embodied a striking aboriginal tradition, and was told in manly, nervous, and unaffected language. It was a work which indicated something like genius, and gave good promise of better things to come; but each succeeding work has, by a regular gradation, sunk below its predecessor, exactly reversing the ordinary course of young and gifted authors. The art of sinking on a great scale was never more skilfully practised. With good and even high aims, Mr. Mathews has shown a marvellous skill in failing, each failure being more complete than the last. His comedy of "The Politicians" is "the most lamentable comedy"; and the reader exclaims, with Hippolyta, "This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard." The career of Puffer Hopkins is an elaborately bad imitation of Dickens; and must be ranked in fiction where "The Politicians" stands in the drama. It aims at being comical, and satirical upon the times. The author studies hard to portray the motley characters which move before the observer in a large city; but he has not enough of the vision and the faculty divine, to make them more than melancholy ghosts of what they profess to be. The attempts at humor are inexpressibly dismal; the burlesque overpowers the most determined reader, by its leaden dulness. The style is ingeniously tasteless and feeble. He who has read it through can do or dare any thing.

How is it, that a young man of talent can perpetrate such literary enormities? The question can only be answered by stating the peculiarities of style, which these works manifest. Mr. Mathews suffers from several erroneous opinions. He seems to think, that literary elegance consists in the very qualities which make elegance impossible. Simplicity and directness of language he abominates. When he has an idea to express, he aims, apparently, to convert it into a riddle, by inventing the most

forced, unnatural, and distorted expressions. If the thing can be obscured, he is sure to obscure it. He seems to say to the reader, "Can you guess? do you give it up?" But then, less obliging than the maker of charades, he leaves the puzzled victim without an explanation at last. He studies a singularity of phrase at once crabbed and finical, and overloads his pages with far-fetched epithets, that are at once harsh and unmeaning. He seems to have been told, that he has wit and humor, and — strange delusion — to believe it. He writes as if he imagined that he possessed the inventive power; — never was a greater mistake. These qualities and these mistakes make his prose writings unreadable and intolerable, — at least, all the later ones. But when to the charms of his ordinary style are added the attractions of verse, then the sense aches with the combined and heightened beauties. The present volume exaggerates all his literary vices. The plan of these poems is very well; if executed with taste and power, the volume would have been interesting. As it is, we have here and there a good line, a striking figure, or a bold expression. But most of the poems are deformed by harshness of versification, feebleness of thought, and every species of bad writing. Compounded words, never seen before, and impossible to be pronounced, epithets detailed on service for which they are wholly unfit, figures that illustrate nothing but their own absurdity, and rhymes that any common book would die of, astonish the reader on every page. Had the poet purposely aimed to twist the English language into every conceivable form of awkwardness, had he designed to illustrate, for the use of beginners, every possible defect and every positive fault of diction, his success in accomplishing the object could not have been more complete. We say these things with regret, because, as was intimated before, we regard the aims of Mr. Mathews, on several matters of importance, with respect, and we think he has the power to make valuable contributions to our literature. But he will never do so without rejecting *all* his present notions of fine writing, unlearning all the bad lessons he has been taught, and returning to nature, simplicity, and truth.

We had marked many characteristic passages in the present volume, to illustrate the observations we have felt called on to make. But we have space only for a few lines. In the first poem, besides many other absurdities of thought as well as expression, occurs this line:

"Strides he the globe, or *canvass-tents* the sea."

Who ever heard of the verb to *canvass-tent*? To *canvass-back* the sea would be much more rational.

In the second poem we find this luminous line:

"*Clear as the clear*, round midnight at its full,"

which must be very clear indeed.

What can be the meaning of the following words in the "Teacher"?

"Whose eyes cry light through all its dawning void."

Again, in the "Farmer":

"Fierce revolutions rush in *wild-orbed* haste."

In the "Mechanic," the following very intelligible direction is given to the architect:

"In the first Builder's gracious spirit work,
Through hall, through enginery, and *temples meek*,
In grandeur towered, or lapsing, beauty-sleek,
Let order and creative fitness shine."

In the "Merchant," the poet affirms:

"Undimmed the man should through the trader shine,
And show the soul *unbabied* by his craft."

This can only mean, that the soul of the trader ought not to be supplied with babies by his craft.

The "Sculptor" ends with this prediction:

"And up shall spring through all the *broad-set* land,
The *fair white people* of thy love unnumbered."

In the "Journalist," we find the following *directions to the printer*:

"Hell not the quiet of a Chosen Land,
Thou grimy man over thine engine bending."

Hell, as a common noun, is a sufficiently uncomfortable idea; but when converted into an active verb, it becomes positively alarming.

The poet thus advises "The Masses":

"In vast assemblies calm, let order rule,
And every shout a cadence owning,
Make musical the vexed wind's moaning,
And be as little children at a singing school."

And the "Reformer" is told to

"Seize by its horns the shaggy Past,
Full of uncleanness."

2.—1. *The Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession examined, and the Protestant Ministry defended against the Assumptions of Popery and High-Churchism, in a Series of Lectures.* By Thomas Smyth, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1841. 8vo. pp. 568.

2. *Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity.* By Thomas Smyth. 1843. 8vo. pp. 568.

3. *Ecclesiastical Republicanism; or, the Republicanism, Liberality, and Catholicity of Presbyterianism, in Contrast with Prelacy and Popery.* By Thomas Smyth. 1843. 12mo. pp. 323.

These ponderous, but very handsome, volumes form an elaborate treatise upon a question, which is now exciting an unusual and very extraordinary degree of popular interest. We have no intention of here setting forth our opinion upon the controverted points; and an analysis of Mr. Smyth's volumes would occupy more space than we can spare. But we may say, that the author's tone is such as befits a scholar and a divine. His good temper even improves as he proceeds,—an extraordinary thing in religious controversy,—from which we infer, that he has full confidence in the strength of his own arguments. Neither does our author set the "divine right of Presbytery" against the "divine right of Prelacy," as his title-pages might be deemed to imply. Though standing in the Presbyterian ranks, and with a strong and natural bias in favor of the ecclesiastical polity of Calvin and John Knox, he contends only for the general cause of Protestantism, and "includes under the term, presbytery, those generic principles which are common to Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, Lutherans, Baptists, and Methodists."

In execution, the first of these volumes is greatly inferior to its successors. The author did not give himself time to elaborate the mass of materials which he had industriously collected from all the ordinary sources, especially from the old English divines, both prelatic and puritan, who have long since exhausted all the arguments which bear strongly upon the questions debated between a High-Churchman and a Presbyterian. The book is rendered tedious by redundant quotations, wearisome repetitions, and needless amplification of minor or collateral points. It is rather a storehouse of arguments, than a close argumentation, or a well-arranged digest. These remarks, however, do not apply to the second work in the series, which the author has elaborated with care, so as to do justice both to himself and to the subject. The third treatise of Mr. Smyth, a mere *pendant* to the other

two, hardly requires a particular notice at our hands; since few will question the republican tendency of presbyterianism. Dean Swift very plausibly traces the "opposition to kingly government in England" directly to the influence of those Protestants, drivne abroad by the persecutions under Queen Mary, who, for a time, "*resided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, where the religion contrived by Calvin is without the order of bishops.*"

3.— *Willie Rogers, or Temper Improved.* Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 1844. 12mo. pp. 104.

We are not in the habit of noticing books for children, which have multiplied on our hands of late with alarming rapidity, so that the manufacture of them seems to have become quite a branch of trade in this country. But the character of many of these publications is such, that we look back almost with regret upon the days, when the rhymes of Mother Goose and tales of fairy land formed nearly the whole contents of our juvenile libraries. Morality and science are now hashed up into baby talk, and are inculcated in such wise, that if the stupidity of the book does not hinder it from producing any impression, it will be likely to convert its youthful readers into formal little pedants or affected hypocrites. Occasionally, however, a book of rare merit, like the little volume now before us, makes its appearance, and we would fain do our humble part to prevent its being lost amidst the heap of trash on the booksellers' counter, with which it is surrounded. The writer is evidently a lover of children, admires their winning and roguish ways, and enters into the very spirit of their generous impulses, their quick affections, and their pranks and peccadilloes. The incidents are probable and well chosen, and are told with grace and naturalness. The little hero is so admirably drawn, that we suspect it is a portrait from the life, and he is surrounded with a group of very familiar faces. Little Sarah, and Tom, and Becky are all old acquaintances of ours, and we are glad to meet them again. They are not little men and women, stiffly drawn on pattern cards, but true children, at once active and droll, laughing and crying, in a breath. The only proper companions for them, that we have ever found *in print*, are members of the admirable group in Miss Edgeworth's "Sequel to Frank." We would willingly enlarge the circle of their acquaintances, and, therefore, heartily commend them to the notice of all anxious mothers and affectionate aunts.

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4. — *Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked; with Notes*, by H. B. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1844. 16mo. pp. 171.

The able and learned Professors in the Theological Institution at Newton are contributing much to the promotion of letters, and are rapidly making their school one of the centres of light and knowledge in the land. The little book, the title of which is copied above, is the result of careful critical study, and is a valuable addition to the literature of the times. Plutarch, though wanting in the graces which mark the best productions of Grecian genius, yet holds an eminent rank as a biographer and moralist. In the latter character, his writings are even more important than in the former; and the explanation and illustration of them formed the almost life-long labor of love for one of the most illustrious modern scholars. The little treatise on the delay of the Deity in punishing the wicked is one of the most interesting and remarkable of all the works of Plutarch. The subject, not without its difficulties, even in a Christian age, is handled by the philosopher of Chæronea with a profound and awful sense of the majesty of the Deity, and a humble and almost Christian submission to the dispensations of his Providence. The objections of the Epicureans to the existence of a moral government of the universe, drawn from the fact, that crime apparently goes unpunished in the course of human affairs, sometimes for many years, and sometimes for ever, are entertained with candor, but answered with a force of argument, and a splendor of illustration, against which the cavilling and the sophistry of skepticism cannot a moment stand. The examples which Plutarch cites to show the agonies of conscience, commencing with the moment of successfully accomplished crime, the penalty being, therefore, coeval with the guilt, are most striking and impressive; and the views which he suggests as to the purposes intended by the Deity to be brought about, by postponing the formal, and, as it were, judicial punishment of crime, can scarcely be surpassed, even at the present day, in clearness and cogency.

Such being the character of the treatise, the selection of it as a work to be edited anew was peculiarly becoming a theological scholar; and in performing his duty, the editor has constantly borne in mind the special relation of the work to moral and religious inquiries. He has, therefore, made copious references to corresponding topics in the Scriptures, thereby suggesting

curious parallelisms, and singularly interesting trains of thought. But, apart from this special purpose, the labors of Mr. Hackett are valuable in a simply literary point of view. The text is carefully prepared; the notes are sufficiently critical to enable a reader moderately versed in the principles of Greek construction, to understand the forms of Plutarch's somewhat difficult style; and the illustrations of the historical allusions are copious and precise. Mr. Hackett has availed himself of the aid of the best recent German writers on Greek grammar, — as, indeed, every one who would edit a classic satisfactorily or usefully must do, — in the critical portion of his notes. The notes are preceded by a brief, but very excellent summary of the argument, in which all the leading points, and the important illustrations are combined and arranged with such distinctness, force, and effect, that, from reading this alone, a clear conception of the discussion may be formed.

The character of the original work, the neatness, convenience, and accuracy which mark the volume, and the elegant, scholar-like simplicity which graces Mr. Hackett's preface, analysis, and notes, render it worthy of a larger audience than that for which it seems to have been directly intended.

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5. — *Letter to a Lady in France on the supposed Failure of a National Bank, the supposed Delinquency of the National Government, the Debts of the several States, and Repudiation, with Answers to Inquiries concerning the Books of Captain Marryatt and Mr. Dickens.* By Thomas G. Cary. Second Edition. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1844. 8vo. pp. 60.

We regard the publication of this letter as a service to the whole country. It is written in an excellent style, with no flourish or pretension, and with the most precise information on the various topics which it handles. The tone of the letter cannot be too much commended for its gentlemanlike calmness and moderation. Mr. Cary has belonged many years to one of the most distinguished mercantile houses in the United States; and the personal part he has taken in financial affairs, and the practical knowledge which his position in commerce has given him, enable him to speak on these subjects with an authority much superior to that of speculating politicians or rancorous partisans, in whose hands matters of this nature, to the great misfortune of the country, have been quite exclusively placed. This pamphlet

has probably instructed many Americans, who, before reading it, imagined that they were already at home in the subjects of which it treats ; and it is to be hoped, that its circulation abroad, while it will not abate one jot from the deep damnation to which the dishonesty of the repudiating demagogues has doomed them, will yet put a check upon the tongues of the ignorant and supercilious scoffers, who join in the hue and cry of wholesale national calumny, and live by running down the reputations of those who are better than themselves.

The topics of this letter cannot here be discussed ; but its uncommon merits, both of matter and manner, demanded this notice, if nothing more. It has been so generally read, commented on, and admired, that there is the less occasion to indicate its claims upon the favorable attention of the public, otherwise than in this general way.

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6. —1. *A Grammar of the Greek Language. Part First. Syntax.* By Alpheus Crosby, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 487.

2. *A Narrative of the Expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, by Xenophon of Athens.* Edited by Alpheus Crosby. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 282.

The first portion of this Grammar has been published some time. The present contains the syntax of the Attic, and Common Dialects of the Greek Language. Some objection may, perhaps, be made to the separation of the Attic, to such an extent, from the older forms of the language ; but putting this aside, no scholar can read the present work without feeling that the subject is treated with masterly clearness, and a most philophical arrangement. The principles are stated with elegance and precision, and the examples used to illustrate them are admirably selected and applied. The strictest scientific method is carried through the work ; and we cannot but regard the labors of Professor Crosby, whose scholarship is marked by an accuracy of judgment no less conspicuous than the delicacy of his taste, as honorable to his own attainments and to the literary character of our country. What a contrast is presented between the grammars of Sophocles and Crosby, and the meagre and mechanical compends, by the aid of which the unfortunate youth of a past generation were reluctantly compelled to drudge at their repulsive task.

One peculiar feature in Mr. Crosby's plan is the selection of a particular work — the Anabasis of Xenophon — as a model to illustrate the principles of construction laid down in the grammar. He has published a very neat and correct edition of the text of this favorite work, as a companion to the grammar. There is much to commend in a scheme so well compacted and so complete in all its parts as this. Mr. Crosby promises a grammar of the dialects and an edition of the Odyssey to follow; it is to be hoped he will be encouraged to go on with his work; for few men are so well qualified, by nature and education, for these critical pursuits.

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7. — *A New and Complete French and English, and English and French Dictionary, on the Basis of the Royal Dictionary;* compiled by Professors Fleming and Tibbins. Prepared, with Additions, by J. Dobson. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart. 1844. 8vo. pp. 1376.

We have copied but a small part of the title of this bulky volume, as the whole of it would fill a page. It is a work of so much merit, that we are sorry the editor has fallen into the practice, too common now-a-days, of turning the whole table of contents into the title-page of a book, and stuffing it with all the trite epithets of a puffing vocabulary. A complete and accurate dictionary of the French language, in addition to the mere compendious manuals used in schools, was much needed among us, and this volume appears to supply the deficiency in a very satisfactory manner. It is compiled with care from standard works of the highest authority. The list of words is very full, embracing the technical terms of most frequent use in the various sciences, and the definitions and illustrations seem to be accurate and well chosen. The use of a dictionary is at all times a most trying occupation for weak eyes, and its mechanical execution, therefore, is a point of great importance. We are happy to find, that the print and paper of this volume are unexceptionable, the type being of good size and quite well defined, and the impression bold and distinct. We hope the publishers may be rewarded by the general adoption of the work as a standard of reference for students of the French language.

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8. — *Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Educaion, together with the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: 1844. 8vo. pp. 199.

The present report, embracing an account of Mr. Mann's observations on the state of schools in the principal nations of Europe, is both highly interesting and instructive. One thing in the history of it we regret; and that is, that the indefatigable Secretary was allowed to make this tour on the public service at his own expense; his leave of absence, for which he seems to us to be superfluously grateful, being in spirit exactly like the resolution of the Pickwick Club, when its immortal founder prepared to extend his researches into parts unknown; "that this association cordially recognizes the principle of every member of the Corresponding Society defraying his own travelling expenses; and that it sees no objection whatever to the members of the said society pursuing their inquiries for any length of time they please, upon the same terms."

Mr. Mann visited the principal cities in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, returning by way of Paris. He examined with surprising industry the schools in these several countries, and has embodied in this report the result of his observations with sagacious remarks, and important applications to the condition of schools among ourselves. Nor has he neglected humane and charitable institutions, in his broad and philanthropic survey.

The general character of this report, which is all that can be given at the close of our present number, is excellent in manner and matter. It has some defects of arrangement, and some faults of style; and the shortness of the time during which Mr. Mann was abroad has occasioned some mistakes. Several assertions are too unqualified. Speaking of the "Royal Orphan House at Pottsdam," containing a thousand inmates, children of soldiers, he says, "they seem collected there as a monument of the havoc which war makes of men;" which can hardly be the case, since Prussia has had no war for more than a quarter of a century. Mr. Mann might have spared, also, some unnecessary girdings at German home-made Latin and Greek, and his ten times repeated assaults upon that famous Teutonic institution, the upper feather-bed; which must be a very pleasant covering to sleep under in winter, the only well founded complaint against it being, according to the best authority, its want of length and breadth.

To the eloquent and noble conclusion of this Report, we say a heartfelt amen; and we take leave of the subject, — hoping to return to it again, — with a feeling of gratitude and admiration for the writings and actions of this distinguished public benefactor.

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